

Protests free Leo Harris

Black socialist acquitted at Miami trial—PAGE 3

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THE MILITANT

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Students call for anti-apartheid week

New York conference of 1,400 sets
April 4-11 protests against S. Africa



Militant/Lou Howort

NEW YORK CITY — Activists from more than 100 campuses in twenty-six states gathered November 17-19 to map anti-apartheid campaign.

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University students in Tehran topple statue of hated shah

IRAN The road to revolution

—PAGES 4-5,
19-22

End spy flights over Cuba!

The U.S. spy plane "Blackbird" is back in the air over Cuba.

This resumption of flights by the Air Force's most sophisticated spy plane is an escalation of Washington's threats against the Cuban revolution.

Shortly after the "Blackbirds" were launched, thirty-six American war ships, including an aircraft carrier and nuclear submarines, approached Cuba. The timing was just a coincidence, Western diplomats assured the *New York Times*; the fleet was on routine maneuvers.

Cuba responded by mobilizing its defense forces, understandably concerned that Washington might be planning additional threatening moves.

Carter's excuse for resuming the reconnaissance flights, which he had halted with much fanfare when he took office, is that Cuba has received new MIG-23s from the Soviet Union. Carter admits these planes are only good for defensive purposes. But he claims to be worried that Cuba might be adapting the MIGs to make them capable of carrying nuclear weapons—which, in any case, Cuba does not have.

Washington will have a hard time convincing the American people that there is a genuine danger of Cuba launching a nuclear attack against the United States.

The necessity for Cuba to be able to defend itself, on the other hand, is quite real and obvious. For nearly two decades, Washington has been carrying out aggression against Cuba on many fronts:

- military invasion;
- infiltration by right-wing terrorist gangs;
- economic strangulation;
- maintenance of the Guantanamo naval base right on Cuban soil;
- an international propaganda campaign of lies and slanders; and
- assassination conspiracies.

In 1962, President Kennedy even brought the entire world to the brink of nuclear destruction in order to deny revolutionary Cuba the elementary right to defend itself against such U.S. aggression.

The current escalation of anti-Cuban activity is part of Carter's crusade to intimidate

Havana into withdrawing troops from Africa. It is also an attempt to justify continuation of Washington's economic blockade, which growing numbers of Americans think should be lifted.

Our response should be a vigorous defense of Cuba's right to self-determination.

*Ground the "Blackbird!"
End the economic blockade!
No war threats against Cuba!*

Silkwood successes

The movement against nuclear power and nuclear weapons took a step forward in November. Across the country, thousands of people gathered in commemoration of the death of Karen Silkwood (see story on page 13).

These were not mourning sessions. They were outspoken protests against the dangers of nuclear power plants and the threat to humanity's very existence posed by nuclear weapons.

This year's round of Silkwood memorials was especially significant. There were at least 120 actions—probably more—and they were spread all over the country, in virtually every state.

Many chapters of the National Organization for Women endorsed local actions. NOW chapter officers spoke at many of them.

NOW President Eleanor Smeal spoke in Oklahoma City at the national Silkwood memorial.

Unions played a bigger role this year, too. Endorsing or speaking at various local actions were officials and members of the Communications Workers of America; United Steelworkers; International Association of Machinists; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union—of which Karen Silkwood was a member.

More and more unionists today recognize the close link between the antinuclear movement and their own daily fight for health and safety on the job. The Silkwood case—a unionist dead because of her efforts to expose unsafe conditions in a nuclear materials plant—dramatizes this connection.

In a number of areas, Black, Chicano, and Native American groups and activists were also involved in the protests.

These successful protests were possible because the growing U.S. antinuke movement agreed on the need for united and coordinated actions this fall. Three important national conferences earlier in the year issued calls for the week of protests.

The antinuclear movement now has an opportunity to push its successes still further in the round of internationally coordinated demonstrations set for next June—and in the many other protests that will occur over the winter and spring.

Karen Silkwood might have told us to remember the last words of labor martyr Joe Hill: "Don't mourn. Organize!"



R. Cobb

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Victory in Missouri

Unionists, Blacks, and farmers joined together to defeat an anti-union "right to work" ballot measure. **Page 9.**

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State Dept.: 'Deport Marroquin'

The government is rushing to deny Héctor Marroquín his right to asylum without reviewing vital evidence. **Page 11.**

The Militant

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Leo Harris wins acquittal

Wide protests defeat Miami frame-up

By Lee Smith

MIAMI—The fight against the frame-up of Black socialist Leo Harris ended in victory here November 17. Cheers and applause broke out in the Dade County courtroom as Judge C.P. Rubiera granted a defense motion to dismiss the charges.

Seventy people had turned out to support Harris. Thirty-five picketed with him in front of the courthouse before the trial. The courtroom was packed with supporters wearing prominent green-white-and-blue Leo Harris defense badges.

A news conference three days earlier revealed the broad support gathered by the defense committee since Harris was arrested August 8 while participating in a Haitian antiracist protest outside a Winn-Dixie supermarket. (See box.)

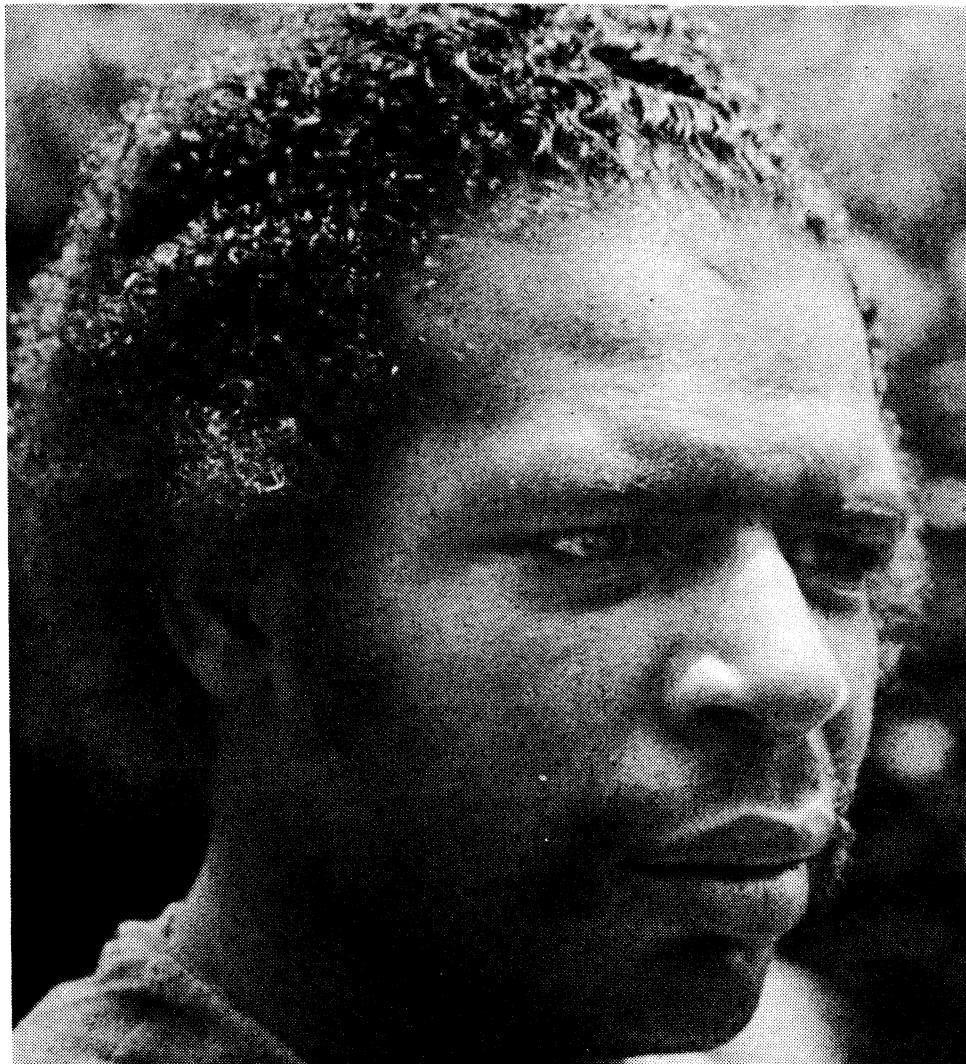
This support was decisive in the outcome of the trial. The cops pushed hard for a conviction on charges of disorderly conduct and criminal mischief. They carried out a three-month campaign of harassment and intimidation against Harris, the Socialist Workers Party to which he belongs, and Leo Harris Defense Committee endorsers.

Cops approached the news staff of WCKT-TV and asked them not to cover the case. It is not unlikely that others in the media were also approached.

Dade County State Attorney Janet Reno assigned a top prosecutor to the Harris case, in place of the attorney regularly assigned to Rubiera's court.

Harris was represented by prominent south Florida civil rights attorney Louis Beller. Beller, who volunteered his services, has defended many frame-up victims, including Delbert Tibbs.

The prosecution called six witnesses—five cops and a Winn-Dixie employee.



LEO HARRIS

Militant/Larry Seigle

First was Gerald Kuffner, the cop who drove a car into Harris August 8, injuring Harris's leg. (Seventeen stitches were needed to close the gash.)

Kuffner claimed that Harris had leaped onto the hood. In reality, Harris was thrown onto the car as it struck him.

Kuffner claimed he had been driving "one or two miles an hour," had come

to a slow stop, got out of the car, and ordered Harris off the hood. Then, Kuffner said, Harris slid off slowly and came to a standing position.

This story is not only false, but absurd in light of Kuffner's own earlier testimony. Kuffner claimed the protest was so wild and unruly that the only way to clear a path was to drive through it. He testified that the car

Many backed Harris defense

MIAMI—Congressional Black Caucus member Parren Mitchell headed the list of sixty-three Black, Chicano, student, academic, women's rights, civil liberties, and labor leaders supporting Leo Harris. The list was released at a news conference here November 14.

Harris and defense committee secretary Jack Lieberman were joined at the news conference by Dade County Commissioner Neal Adams; Haitian leaders Arthur Papillon and

Father Jean-Just; Haitian Refugee Center Director Rulx Jean-Bart; Black activist Gladys Taylor; Greta Lynch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Tony Thomas, Socialist Workers

Party National Committee member; and Bobbi Nelson, a Black grocery store manager.

Nelson's face and body were covered with scars from his brutal beating by Miami cops November 5.

He told how he had been punched, kicked, and had his face rubbed in sand by a gang of cops who mistook him for someone else. The cops then arrested Nelson for "resisting arrest," and "assaulting a police officer."

During the final week before the trial, many letters and telegrams of support and financial contributions came in from the greater Miami area and from throughout the country.

was surrounded by people screaming, kicking, and pounding on the car.

In this alleged situation, Kuffner claimed that he had simply got out of the car and told Harris to get off.

Other cops came up with similar versions, although contradicting each other on details.

Under cross-examination by Beller, the Winn-Dixie employee contradicted a police allegation that Harris had shouted profanities at the cops.

What happened August 8, contrary to the cops' stories, is that after repeated requests by Harris and insistence by Haitian protest leaders, cops finally agreed to drive Harris to the hospital. Then, supposedly on the way to the hospital, Harris was told he was under arrest and was taken to jail.

The cop version on the witness stand was that Harris, after being placed under arrest, said he didn't want to go to the hospital.

Beller was prepared to call witnesses to refute the cops, but it turned out not to be necessary. Beller presented a motion to dismiss the charges at the close of the state's case.

After Beller argued for his motion, the prosecutor told Rubiera the state was willing to concede they did not have sufficient evidence to substantiate the criminal-mischief charge.

"I had already gathered that," Rubiera quipped.

The judge then read the statute defining disorderly conduct—a vague law that gives broad discretion to the cops. "I fail to see that anything [Harris] did violates this statute," Rubiera said.

Apparently taken aback, the prosecutor replied that even Harris's alleged shouting constituted a *prima facie* case of breach of the peace.

"In a crowd of 300 people?" the judge interrupted.

"I beg your pardon, your honor?" the prosecutor responded.

"Never mind," said Rubiera, banging down his gavel. "Motion granted."

The trial and verdict were reported on all four TV news stations, half a dozen radio stations, and in the *Miami Herald*.

In a statement to WCKT-TV, which was broadcast on the evening news, Harris said, "This victory is an example to everyone who is being framed up. You can stand up for your rights. You can fight back. You don't have to cop a plea and go to jail even if you're not guilty."

"We have the people, and with the people a broad defense campaign can be waged. And we can win!"

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Lessons of Russian revolution for fight against shah's tyranny



Bolshevik Party leads July 1, 1917, workers' march in Petrograd

By Fred Feldman

Hatred of oppression that has built up over decades of massacres and savage torture in Iran has exploded in the popular cry, "Death to the shah!"

Aiming to abolish tyranny and imperialist domination over their country, millions of Iranian workers, peasants, and students are demanding the release of all political prisoners and full democratic rights.

The breadth and intensity of the upheaval—and the courage of common people who have sacrificed their lives by the thousands without surrendering—places events in Iran among the great revolutionary struggles of this century.

Today Iranian working people in factories, streets, rural villages, and army barracks are discussing how they can win these goals.

Iranian revolutionary socialists have put forward three central demands. They call for the overthrow of the monarchy, the election of a constituent assembly, and the establishment of a workers and peasants republic.

These demands stem from the needs of the struggle in Iran today. But they also apply the lessons of a revolutionary upheaval that faced many similar tasks and obstacles sixty-one years ago—the Russian revolution of 1917.

Land to the tillers

As in Iran, one of the central problems facing Russian society was the need for an agrarian revolution. A vast landless peasantry was condemned to poverty and ignorance by the monarchy, the landlords, the usurers, and the bankers. A series of much-touted "reforms"—similar to the shah's "white revolution"—only intensified the misery of the rural masses.

As in Iran, oppressed nationalities were deprived of the right to govern themselves and speak their own language, and were discriminated against in jobs and education.

Women faced barbaric oppression. The legal and moral authority of tsar and church stood behind husbands, brothers, and fathers who brutalized women. And all women were condemned to a subordinate place in every area of life.

Although the tsarist regime periodically promised to "modernize" Russia—especially when popular opposition threatened to get out of hand—it systematically blocked economic and cultural advance.

The entire structure was topped by the tsar's autocratic political domination—old Russia's version of Iran's "light of the Aryans," as the shah proclaims himself. Backed by a massive repressive apparatus, the tsar suppressed democratic rights. Tens of thousands of oppositionists were imprisoned or in exile. Russian society suffocated and decayed in this political straitjacket.

The most fundamental tasks facing the Russian masses—agrarian reform, economic development, the abolition of monarchy and national oppression—were those that had been accomplished in earlier times through bourgeois-democratic revolutions such as the French Revolution of 1789-93

But events in Russia demonstrated that the Russian capitalists and their liberal political representatives could not lead a struggle to rid Russia of autocracy.

Russia's industrial development, although modest, had been financed to a large degree through the tsarist state and foreign capital. As a result, the country had a large, centralized, and powerful working class—but a small and weak capitalist class increasingly tied to the regime and to world imperialism.

The capitalists saw the workers, far more than the tsar, as a dangerous enemy of their privileges and ambitions. They feared losing the protection the tsarist repressive apparatus provided against working-class struggles. They also feared the loss of their ability to superexploit oppressed nationalities if that apparatus was abolished. They even feared the impact that a radical agrarian reform would have on the masses' attitude toward the "sacredness" of capitalist property.

The bourgeoisie often took an oppositional stance toward the tsar, and even formed its own opposition parties—like the Constitutional Democrats, the so-called Cadets—to advance its interests. For all its democratic rhetoric, however, this party came to the defense of tsarism whenever the mass forces capable of overthrowing the old order—the workers and peasants—came into motion.

February 1917

The February 1917 revolution provided a graphic example of this. It began with an International Women's Day protest led by striking women textile workers. This sparked a general strike and mass demonstrations aimed at bringing down the tsar. As the ranks of the army came over to the movement, the capitalist liberals panicked.

Their top concern was to secure their property interests by saving the monarchy. First, the leaders of the liberal "Progressive Bloc" proposed a military dictatorship. When that proved impossible, the top Cadet leaders proposed the tsar's brother Mikhail as successor to the discredited Nicholas.

The response of the workers to these maneuvers was so angry, however, that they had to be abandoned. The tsar fell. This initial battle against the old order in Russia was won not under the leadership of liberal capitalists, but by mobilizations of workers and soldiers *despite the obstruction and opposition of the capitalists*. Through their actions, the workers and soldiers organized committees or councils—called soviets—to unify and help lead their struggle. These committees quickly spread to the countryside.

The same pattern continued when it came to advancing the revolution further. The genuine eradication of tsarism required a thoroughgoing social revolution. But the capitalists were dead set against this.

The workers, peasants, and soldiers councils were the most authoritative bodies in Russia after February. But they were initially led by reformist parties, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. These

parties insisted that Russia could only progress through an alliance with the capitalists. They joined with capitalist parties to form a coalition government on a procapitalist program.

This government continued Russia's participation in the imperialist First World War, which was highly unpopular with the Russian masses. It blocked agrarian reform.

It also attempted to delay the election and convening of a constituent assembly. The capitalists feared such an assembly would further politicize and unite the workers, peasants, and soldiers by providing them with a forum for demanding radical social measures.

The capitalists used the coalition government to strengthen the officer caste of the army and the old tsarist police. They hoped this would eventually make it possible to once again place the workers and peasants under an iron dictatorship. These moves culminated in September in an unsuccessful rightist coup led by Kornilov.

Role of Bolsheviks

The key to the failure of these maneuvers—and the ultimate success of the Russian revolution—was the existence of a working-class party that understood that the capitalists were opposed to the revolution. In steadfast opposition to the conciliationist policies of the Mensheviks and SRs, the Bolshevik Party under Lenin's leadership saw the actual practice of the Russian capitalists and drew appropriate conclusions.

They counted on the independent mobilization of the workers, peasants, and soldiers to topple the tsar—not the liberal pretensions of the capitalist parties. They called for an end to Russian participation in the imperialist war and for the immediate division of the land among the peasants. And they campaigned for the speedy convocation of the constituent assembly to assure the replacement of the tsarist regime by a democratically chosen one.

In order to fight for these demands the Bolsheviks called for extending the soviets, factory committees, and other organs developed by the masses in their struggle throughout the country. They urged the working class and peasantry to rely on these, their own organs.

Following the defeat of Kornilov's attempted right-wing coup, the Bolsheviks won the majority in these highly popular and authoritative bodies away from those who were bowing before the capitalists. The party then went on to lead the soviets in replacing the capitalist government with a workers and peasants government in October.

Thus, the accomplishment of basic democratic tasks in Russia proved to require a socialist revolution led by the working class.

Dynamics of Iranian revolution

The revolution in Iran has shown a similar dynamic. The regime was deeply shaken by the mass demonstrations of peasants, small traders and artisans, students, and women. The strikes of the urban workers—especially the oil workers—have become the driving force of the struggle, bringing the Pahlavi dynasty to the brink of oblivion.

The political, economic, and military domination of Iran by imperialism has made the local capitalists even more dependent and less able to lead revolutionary battles than were their Russian counterparts.

The oppressed of Iran are learning from experience to rely on their own power. The future of the struggle against autocracy depends on the ability of the workers, farmers, and small traders to maintain their anti-shah mobilizations, and thus deepen the impact of the democratic struggle on the ranks of the army.

To maximize the chances of victory, Iran needs a working-class party like the Bolsheviks, that puts forward slogans and demands that can unite the oppressed millions against the regime.

In particular, the demand for a constituent assembly and a workers and peasants republic to replace the tyranny can advance this effort. A constituent assembly, democratically elected on the basis of universal suffrage, can give the long-disfranchised Iranian people a chance to decide their own future.

The representatives of the workers and peasants in such a body would fight for a workers and peasants republic—a government representing the great majority of Iranians, instead of the wealthy minority who have benefited from the shah's reign. This is the road along which the Russian revolution of 1917 marched forward.

Oil workers challenge shah

Army rule fails to stop Iran freedom fight

By Fred Feldman

Nearly three weeks of military rule have not put an end to the mass struggle against monarchy and for democratic rights in Iran. The continuing strikes, demonstrations, and other expressions of opposition to the shah signal the gathering of forces for a new explosion.

The oil workers' struggle—the end of which is reported almost daily in capitalist newspaper headlines—continues. The November 20 *New York Times* asserted, "Production today inched up to 3.7 million barrels"—about 60 percent of a normal day's output before the strike. The report added, "But the 500-mile natural gas pipeline [in the south] is still reportedly idle."

The depth of the anti-shah mobilization was indicated by a November 19 report by Youssef Ibrahim to the *New York Times*. He described the situation in Ahwaz, the capital of Khuzistan, which is the center of Iranian oil production:

"The mood here is somber, reflecting a dangerous resolve to continue the challenge to the rule of Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlavi. . . .

"Despite threats by the military, thousands of workers are continuing slowdowns in the oilfields and factories, or staying away from their jobs.

"The workers, supported by merchants and students, are ducking army orders to go back to work while avoiding direct confrontations with the soldiers. The workers call the soldiers their 'brothers' and are trying to win them over. . . .

"Intimidating policies, such as rounding up the leaders of the revolt, seem to have little effect, and it is clear that regardless of the diversity of their material demands, the various factions in this city of 450,000 people are unanimous in their rejection of the Shah's rule."

Distrusts army

The shah evidently shares the popular suspicion that the ranks of the army are less eager to save his skin than are the generals. On November 17—declared by the shah to be "Armed Forces Day" and usually the occasion for a show of military strength—only a few hundred soldiers were brought out for what the *New York Times* delicately called "a low-key parade."

For the first time in his thirty-seven-year reign, the shah did not show up for the event.

As of November 19, the small traders and artisans who do business in Teh-



Shah and military government (above) haven't stopped popular movement

ran's bazaar remained on strike. And demonstrations, with some killings by the military, took place in Mashaad, Isfahan, Sari, and other cities across Iran.

The shah has tried to placate the opposition by promising to hold free elections in June and end military rule. His past record shows he will quickly forget such promises if he holds onto power.

In an even more transparent gesture, the regime announced the release of 210 political prisoners November 19. But thousands have been arrested since military rule was imposed November 6.

U.S. support

Meanwhile, the U.S. government continues to drop hints of possible military intervention, should the shah fail to contain the mass upheaval. In a television interview November 12, White House assistant Hamilton Jordan said the National Security Council and State Department had "contingency plans for different circumstances" in Iran.

One hint of what that might mean came in the November 20 *U.S. News and World Report*: "Pentagon teams are studying contingency plans involving the use of a 'quick reaction force' in future crises in the region. Some Pentagon planners believe that such a force could be decisive in the event of a

request for help from Kuwait or Saudi Arabia to deal with a coup by Soviet-backed radicals."

And the U.S. ruling-class press continues to pour out articles hinting that intervention may be necessary at some point to "save American lives." Some U.S. personnel in Iran, however, place the responsibility for anti-American feeling in Iran where it belongs: "The day before all hell broke loose," one told *Newsweek*, "Carter praised the Shah as the greatest thing since sliced bread. Sometimes we wish he would just keep his mouth shut."

Youssef Ibrahim's report from Ahwaz indicated that while U.S. threats may strengthen the resolve of the shah and his killers, it is deepening the anger of Iranians:

"The feeling that foreigners, particularly Americans, control Iran's fate and policies is pervasive in this town. . . .

"The hostility toward the United States is further inflamed by the widespread conviction that the only reason the shah is still in power is the support and the advice he gets from the Central Intelligence Agency and the military advisers training the Iranian Army."

Anti-imperialist sentiment in Iran has grown so intense that even the shah is trying to take some distance verbally from his U.S. sponsors. On November 18 the shah told *New York*

Times correspondent Nicholas Gage that "he. . . will not allow any friendly country to intervene in Iran to help him.

"He feels there is little such countries, including major powers like the United States, can do to affect the outcome of his struggle for survival with his opponents. The Shah would not accept intervention on his behalf even from other Moslem nations, as King Hassan II of Morocco has suggested. . . ."

Given mass opposition at home and abroad to Washington's attempts to act as world cop, direct U.S. military intervention against a new upsurge in Iran would be politically costly for Carter. But the stakes for U.S. imperialism there are so high that desperate military actions cannot be ruled out.

Opponents of tyranny and torture should stand behind the demands of the Iranian people: "Down with the shah! U.S. out of Iran now!"

YSA helps get out truth on Iran

By Diane Wang

The shah has closed down the universities in Iran. It was the only way he knew to cope with what has become an important center for the rebellion. The only way to stop the students' rallies; their red banners; their resolutions demanding freedom for political prisoners, support to striking workers, an end to the monarchy.

Closing the schools, the tyrant hopes, will quiet the students' perpetual chant: "Down with the shah!"

According to the American newspapers, Iranian students have been leafleting foreign workers, urging them to "stop supporting the shah."

In this country the Young Socialist Alliance is taking that same message to campuses, through sales of the *Militant*.

The YSA has sent special sales teams to campuses where there are no YSA chapters, from colleges outside Los Angeles, to southern Illinois, to Baltimore.

And wherever there are YSA chapters, publicizing the truth about the

upsurge in Iran has become an urgent campaign.

At the University of Washington in Seattle, the YSA usually has a literature table in the student union lobby twice a week. Greg McCarran reports that "a lot of people come up, see the headline about Iran on the *Militant*, and buy—just like that. Iran has become a hot topic."

A local radio station, seeing the YSA sell a paper with the real, inside story about Iran, asked the socialists to put them in touch with Iranian dissidents who could tell their side of the events.

Of course, not everyone agrees with the YSA that American students and working people have no interest in supporting the Iranian tyrant. "Almost every week some right-winger comes up to the table and challenges us," McCarran says.

These people parrot the line published in the big-business-owned press that the United States should save the shah to protect Iranian oil supplies, or to stop "Soviet expansionism."

The YSA table often becomes a soap-

box debate, attracting crowds. Last week, for example, over the course of an hour-long debate, about fifty students wandered over and took part.

The Young Socialist Alliance is inviting both American and Iranian students in this country to attend its national convention December 28-January 1 in Pittsburgh. The convention will hear reports about the latest events in Iran and discuss what can be done here to support sisters and brothers fighting the shah.

Other topics at the convention—the antinuke movement, women's liberation, South Africa—also touch on the Iranian upsurge. Iranian workers have called for an end to U.S.-backed nuclear power projects there. Strikes have included demands for child care. And Iran is the major oil supplier for the apartheid regime in South Africa.

For more information about the YSA convention, contact the YSA chapter nearest you, listed on page 27 of this paper, or write the YSA National Office, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003

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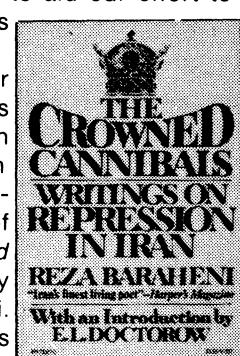
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Anti-apartheid conference

By David Frankel

NEW YORK—"The U.S. isn't going to get out of southern Africa by itself. It's going to have to be forced out."

That sentiment, expressed by Edith Becker, a student at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, brought more than 1,400 people together here November 17-19 for a student conference against U.S. involvement in southern Africa.

"I think it's the beginning—a start in building a national movement," said Kate Rubin, another participant.

The conference was sponsored by the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA). It reflected the growing campus movement against U.S. support for the racist, white minority regimes. Participants came from twenty-six states and more than 100 campuses.

It was the largest of three such student conferences this fall. Four hundred activists met at a Midwest regional conference October 20-22. A southeastern regional conference November 11-12 drew close to 100 people. Both meetings called for a week of national actions this spring.

A resolution for a March 18-24 week of actions from the Midwest conference was put forward at the New York meeting.

An alternative proposal for April 4-11 actions was sponsored by the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), the Communist Youth Organization (CYO—youth group of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), and a number of campus committees.

Supporters of the original March 18-24 proposal backed the April dates, which passed almost unanimously. People from the Midwest said they would urge their groups to use the March actions to build for those in April.

Unfortunately, the unity around this proposal was marred by a disruption of the conference on the final day. A group led by the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO), RSB, and CYO—three Maoist groups—tried to carry out



Vote against changing coalition's principles of unity was overwhelming

Militant/Lou Howort

a spoiling operation after a large majority of the conference voted down proposals that they supported.

'A first step'

Prior to this the meeting had proceeded smoothly. Participants discussed their experiences at four workshop sessions on Saturday, and informally throughout the weekend.

The focus of the campus movement up to now has been on forcing colleges to break their ties with U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa. Kate Rubin, a member of the Washtenaw County Coalition Against Apartheid and vice-president of the student government at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, told the *Militant*:

"The student divestment movement has gotten a lot of publicity, and I think it makes corporations very nervous.

"But I think divestment is only a first step. It helps to educate about the whole situation in Africa, and it shows how the U.S. fits in."

Eric Vega, one of ten students at Vassar College facing disciplinary action because of their participation in divestment actions, said:

"People come into the movement at different levels of consciousness. But whatever level they come in at, they're going to get educated about a lot of other things."

"One of the points of this conference is to unite all these different people," Edith Becker added.

Direction of movement

Workshops discussed issues such as tactics and demands in divestment struggles, U.S. foreign policy, unions and the anti-apartheid movement, women under apartheid, and connections with the antinuke movement.

But the main issue in debate was, which way for the anti-apartheid movement?

One discussion was over what slogans to raise. The other was over what the basis of unity for an anti-apartheid coalition should be.

In the decision-making session on the final day of the conference, there was a disagreement on whether to raise the slogan "Victory to the Liberation Movements!" in the call for the April 4-11 actions.

An amendment was submitted by a number of individuals, including:

Frank Jackalone, chairperson of the National Student Association; Antar Mberi, national coordinator of the U.S. Preparatory Committee for the World Youth Festival; Rev. Charles Briody, director of the Chile Legislative Center; and Dennis Regier, international secretary of the Young Workers Liberation League (the youth organization of the Communist Party).

Debate on slogans

The makers of the amendment argued that the slogan "Victory to the Liberation Movements!" would stand in the way of involving church organizations, pacifist groups, and trade unionists. They proposed that the main slogans be:

U.S. Out of Southern Africa! Break All Ties! Impose Total Economic, Military, and Diplomatic Sanctions! Divest Now!

Sally Rees, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and one of the organizers of the student conference, expressed the feeling of many that a successful movement must be built around slogans with broad appeal, focused on our tasks in this country.

We cannot help the liberation move-

Rally calls for unity in action against apartheid

By Matilde Zimmermann

NEW YORK—Unity in action against apartheid was the theme struck by speaker after speaker at the rally that opened the November 17-19 conference here, sponsored by the Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa.

South African poet and former political prisoner Dennis Brutus chaired the rally and set the tone in his welcoming remarks. He urged conference participants "to intensify your efforts to build an ever more powerful and united movement the length and breadth of this country."

"You're here because you are committed to action," was the way Sylvia Komatsu put it. Komatsu, who was active in the South Africa Solidarity Committee at Harvard University, explained that demonstrations at colleges across the country have already put American corporations on the defensive about their economic stake in apartheid. She emphasized the tremendous influence the student movement can wield when it goes into action "to challenge business as usual."

Sally Rees, who was a leader in the successful divestment fight at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, presented an appeal for funds to help finance getting out the decisions of the conference.

David Sibeko, the United Nations representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, said he knew it was possible for the American people to unite in the kind of movement that could force the U.S. government and corporations out of South Africa. "We have not forgotten

the contribution of the peace movement in this country to the victory of the people in Indochina," he said. "We have not forgotten it began on the campuses."

Another example of the power of united action was given by Skip Robinson of the United League of the South. He described the mass marches that have taken place in Tupelo, Mississippi, over the last half-year and explained how the Black community is organizing to defend itself against the joint violence of the police department and the Ku Klux Klan.

Several speakers addressed themselves to the false theory that U.S. corporations are a "liberal-

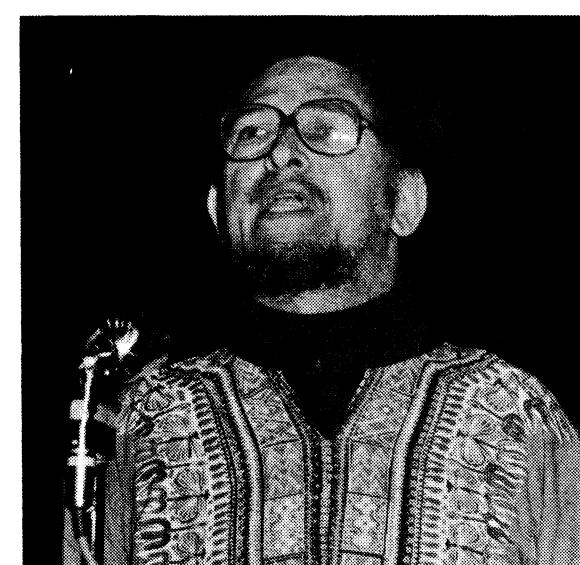
izing" force in South Africa, and explained why the anti-apartheid movement in this country must demand total divestment of funds and the breaking of all ties with South Africa.

Jennifer Davis of the American Committee on Africa cited facts and figures to prove that foreign investment had always played a crucial role in maintaining the racist political and economic system in South Africa and would never be a force for change. She ridiculed the idea that U.S. companies would institute programs to improve the position of Blacks. "Corporations don't even do that here," she pointed out. "Why should they do it in South Africa?"

Drake Koka of the Black Allied Workers Union also told students at the rally not to put any faith in the various "codes of conduct" that have been proposed for U.S. companies doing business in South Africa. They are "nothing but trash," he said, written solely "for international consumption" and designed to "do nothing but polish up the system of apartheid."

Koka described the whole network of laws through which apartheid is maintained. "Will the presence of foreign investors change the laws that have made me a noncitizen in my own country?" he asked, "that have taken away my land? Will it change the law that forbids me to join a union?"

Koka closed the rally as Brutus had opened it, with a plea for unity in action. "What has brought us all together is a single great violation of human rights." He urged conference participants to "sink our ideological differences," in order to "be united into one force" that could strike a real blow against apartheid.



DENNIS BRUTUS: 'Intensify your efforts to build a united movement'

calls April 4-11 actions

ments win simply by calling for it, she said. We have to "build a mass movement to force the U.S. government to get out!"

After a brief debate, a large majority voted to change the slogans. But the discussion continued under the next point on the agenda.

For the past eight months, the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa had operated on the basis of agreement around three points:

- opposition to U.S. support for the racist regimes in southern Africa;
- support to the struggle of the liberation groups in southern Africa for self-determination; and
- recognition that the struggle against racism in southern Africa aids the struggle against racism here.

At the New York conference the RSB, CYU, WVO, and some other groups and individuals urged that these points of unity be changed—that specific liberation groups be singled out for support.

What basis for unity?

The key section in the proposed change was, "We favor the political and military victory of the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity: the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, SWAPO in Namibia, and the Pan Africanist Congress in Azania and the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC]."

"How can you support African liberation if you are not willing to politically back the movement that will carry it out?" demanded one supporter of the proposal.

He failed to explain what NECLSA had been doing for the past eight months if not "supporting African liberation."

Opponents of the proposed change made two basic points:

- Only the African masses, in the course of their struggle, can decide which groups represent their aspirations. For Americans to single out one or another liberation group to support, regardless of its strength at any particular time, is a violation of the right of Black Africans to choose their own leaderships.

- Here in the United States, we have to build a nonexclusionary coalition that can involve all those willing to act against U.S. support to apartheid, regardless of whether they support *any* organization in Africa.

Speakers noted that it is one thing to back the struggle for Black majority rule. It is quite another to take a position on which organizations are most effective in that struggle, and to give political support to those groups.

Millions of students who oppose the racist regimes in southern Africa do not support the political ideas of any liberation group. That's also true for millions of trade unionists and millions of people in the Black community.

And it is precisely these forces that must be won to a mass movement that can take on the U.S. government.

Moreover, there is disagreement on how to evaluate various liberation groups among the oppressed peoples of southern Africa themselves. South Africa, with more than 20 million Blacks, has dozens of organizations engaged in the struggle against the apartheid regime. But the proposed change in the principles of unity singled out only the PAC and the ANC.

In Zimbabwe, the Patriotic Front was listed as the "approved" organization. But the Patriotic Front has deep differences within itself. Are liberation groups that split from the Patriotic Front, or arise outside of it, necessarily unworthy of support?

Another problem is that many

groups in the United States that could be brought into a coalition against the U.S. government's role in southern Africa do not support all the liberation groups listed. The Young Workers Liberation League, for example, supports the ANC, but strongly opposes the PAC.

Supporters of the proposed change in the principles of unity tried to duck such questions by arguing that genuine liberation groups were those recognized by the Organization of African Unity. But the same Maoist groups who at the conference were trying to limit support to "the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity," refused to support the MPLA, which was the OAU's choice during the war in Angola.

As many speakers tried to explain, the best help we in the United States can give is not to pick out which liberation organizations we like best. Rather, our job is to build a mass movement that can force the U.S. government and U.S. corporations to end their support to the apartheid regime, *no matter what groups are leading the struggle in southern Africa at any particular time.*

That is what unconditional support to the struggle means.

Divisive proposal

For all these reasons, those trying to change the basis on which the conference had been built played a divisive role.

As Tony Thomas of the Socialist Workers Party explained to the conference: "I think that one of the most important forces fighting for national liberation in Africa today is the revolutionary armed forces of Cuba.

"In the interests of unity, I will not try to impose that position on this coalition. I think that the best way to preserve our unity is to support all forces fighting for liberation."

There were at least 800 people in the auditorium when the proposed changes came to a vote. Only 186 voted to list specific groups.

However, a minority of the conference, led by members of the RSB, CYO, and WVO, refused to accept the decision of the majority. Having been voted down, they attempted to disrupt the conference with sustained chants. In the face of this, the chairing com-



Militant/Lou Howort

Conference debated what direction anti-apartheid movement should take

mittee called a recess.

When the conference reconvened, the disrupters massed at the front of the room in an attempt to intimidate the conference majority. Under this pressure, the chairing committee announced that it was suspending the conference agenda in order to open a discussion on the division.

Because of the undemocratic rules of procedure—which the conference as a whole never even had a chance to vote on—the decision to suspend the agenda was not put to a vote.

Red-baiting

Speaker after speaker from the RSB and WVO, along with some other conference participants who agreed with the losing proposal, tried to explain away their failure to win a majority with the slander that the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance had packed the meeting.

Ignoring the hundreds who voted against the proposal who were not members of the YSA or SWP, the disrupters resorted to red-baiting. Having failed to win supporters on the basis of their ideas, they tried to whip up an atmosphere of hysteria against those who disagreed with them. Instead of chanting, "U.S. out of south-

Africa," they began chanting, "Trots out!"

Dwight Hopkins of the WVO, for example, declared: "We cannot unite with the SWP. We cannot unite with the YSA. We can't unite with Trotskyites, period!"

Ralph Minichello, a member of the RSB from Boston University, told the meeting that he was for unity "when you put it in the abstract. But it's not just a question of sectarianism in general. It's a question of the YSA and SWP. . . .

"I'm not saying you have to be against Trotskyism, with all its ins and outs. That requires more study. But if you have a deep hatred of Trotskyism after what you've seen here, then I support that."

Although the suspension of the agenda was originally supposed to have a forty-five-minute limit, it was arbitrarily extended. Repeated appeals by conference participants who wanted to move ahead with the business of the conference were ignored.

Also ignored were several attempts to propose compromise formulations on the principles of unity. Both Sally Rees and Cathy Sedwick of the YSA,

Continued on page 10

South African freedom fight

will be a major topic at the

YSA Convention

in Pittsburgh, December 28-January 1. For more information send this coupon to the Young Socialist Alliance National Office.

- Send me a copy of the 'Young Socialist' (25¢ each, 20¢ for bundles).
- Enclosed is \$1.00 for a six-month subscription to the 'Young Socialist.'
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- Send me the 'Divest now!' button, (50¢ each, 35¢ each for 10 or more).
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YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Election returns for socialist candidates

The Socialist Workers Party ran 1978 election campaigns in twenty-five states plus Washington, D.C. This week we begin reportage of the socialists' vote totals.

In ten states, the SWP was forced to wage write-in campaigns because undemocratic election laws—applying only to candidates outside the Democratic and Republican parties—kept them off the ballot. But even where the socialists were able to comply with petitioning requirements and were certified for the ballot, their treatment by the government and big-business news media was far from equal.

That was carried over to election night, when only the votes of the Democrats and Republicans were tallied.

Most of the news media never report the vote totals for candidates outside the two capitalist parties. For the information of our readers, we are including the totals available to us for other candidates. A note of explanation: The Workers Party is the electoral formation of the Workers League. The U.S. Labor Party, which from its name may appear to voters as a working-class alternative, is actually a right-wing outfit. The Libertarian Party is a small, procapitalist formation.

Candidates	Vote	Percent
Arizona		
Betsy McDonald—U.S. Congress, 2nd C.D.	1,214	0.7
Jessica Sampson—Governor	4,429	0.8
(V. Gene Lewter, Libertarian Party—U.S. Congress, 2nd C.D.)	10,214	1.9
(Joe Bach, Libertarian Party—U.S. Congress, 2nd C.D.)	1,400	1.1
(Lorenzo Torrez, Communist Party—State Senate, 10th Dist.)	327	3.9
California		
Sylvia Weinstein—San Francisco Board of Education	24,400	6.3
Colorado		
Sue Adley—U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.	2,044	1.5
Elsa Blum—Governor	2,722	0.9
Harold Sudmeyer—Lt. Governor	2,722	0.9
Massachusetts		
Brenda Franklin—U.S. Congress, 9th C.D.)	7,362	6.0
(David Freund, Workers Party—U.S. Congress, 9th C.D.)	2,679	2.0
Michigan		
Jo Carol Stallworth—Detroit Central Board of Education	54,797	13.8
Minnesota		
Christine Frank—U.S. Senate	12,000	0.8
Bill Peterson—U.S. Senate	11,000	0.7
Jill Lakowske—Governor	8,000	0.6
Marc Shaver—Lt. Governor	8,000	0.6
(Helen Kruth, Communist Party—State Auditor)	25,000	1.8
(Jean Brust, Workers Party—U.S. Senate)	3,000	0.2
(Libertarian Party—U.S. Senate)	3,000	0.2
(Libertarian Party—Governor)	2,000	0.1
Missouri		
Jim Levitt—U.S. Congress, 5th C.D.	1,511	1.5
Ohio		
Pat Wright—Governor	35,556	1.3
John Gaige—Lt. Governor	35,556	1.3
(Socialist Labor Party—Governor)	30,267	1.1
(U.S. Labor Party—Governor)	24,567	0.9
Pennsylvania		
Ben Bailey—U.S. Congress, 2nd C.D.	2,208	1.4
Mark Zola—Governor	10,360	0.4
Naomi Berman—Lt. Governor	10,360	0.4
(Consumer Party—Governor)	7,761	0.3
Texas		
Miguel Pendás—U.S. Senate	3,879	0.2
Jim White—U.S. Congress, 5th C.D.	394	0.1
Deborah Vernier—U.S. Congress, 18th C.D.	1,235	3.2
Sara Jean Johnston—Governor	4,205	0.2
Andrea Doorack—Lt. Governor	14,477	0.7
Agnes Chapa—Attorney General	17,477	0.8
Derrick Adams—Treasurer	46,903	3.1
Jana Pellusch—Railroad Commissioner	35,728	2.4
(Luis Diaz De Leon, La Raza Unida Party—U.S. Senate)	13,957	0.6
(Mario Compeán, La Raza Unida Party—Governor)	11,145	0.5
Utah		
Bill Hoyle—U.S. Congress, 2nd C.D.	1,322	0.7
Wisconsin		
Adrienne Kaplan—Governor	1,459	0.1
Bill Breihan—Lt. Governor	1,459	0.1
(Henry Ochsner, Socialist Labor Party—Governor)	890	0.1
(Fred Blair, Communist Party member running for Treasurer as 'Independent')	6,612	0.5
(Joel Miller, Socialist Party—State Senate, 9th Dist.)	1,264	5.0



New York City socialists demanded that SWP candidate Dianne Feeley be included in gubernatorial campaign debates.

Campaigning for socialism

'Stop the deportations'

That slogan of uncompromising opposition to Washington's victimization of Mexican immigrants summed up Virginia Garza's message during her pre-election visit to Baja California in Mexico. Garza was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general of California.

Garza got an enthusiastic response from more than 250 students at Tijuana's Preparatoria Federal Lazaro Cardenas. Following that meeting, she was interviewed by *Proceso*, an influential Mexican opposition journal.

Garza's Tijuana meeting was sponsored by the student government. While in Baja California, Garza also spoke at the University of Mexicali.

She appeared at a news conference with representatives of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores and the colonos movement in Tijuana. The colonos are squatters' settlements that the Mexican government has been forcibly evacuating and bulldozing.

The PRT, sister party of the SWP, helped arrange Garza's Mexican tour.

Equal time for socialist candidates

"Hatch and King is no debate. Let the socialists speak!"

That was the chant outside Boston's Faneuil Hall November 1, as SWP campaign supporters picketed a League of Women Voters "debate" between the Republican and Democratic party candidates for governor. Claiming it was just a "media event for the major parties," the League excluded SWP candidate Lisa Potash.

A statement protesting the exclusion had been signed earlier by prominent community, political, and academic leaders, including MIT professor Noam Chomsky and Edward Teixeira, chairperson of the Massachusetts Communist Party.

In New York State, pickets held at several exclusionary debates helped force TV and radio outlets to grant seven hours of time to Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for governor. Feeley appeared on TV shows in New York City, Buffalo, Rochester, and Albany.

Cleveland Black politicians indicted

In an "Open Letter to the Cleveland Black Community," Pat Wright, the SWP's recent candidate for governor of Ohio, called the indictment of city council President George Forbes and seven other Black city councilors "a racist attack against Cleveland's Black community."

The indictments were engineered by a number of Democratic Party politicians as a crass political maneuver against Black members of their party.

Wright goes on to explain that "this is nothing new for the Democratic Party, or the Republican Party either! These parties cannot and never could be trusted to act in the interests of the Black community."

Pointing to the October 30 demonstration of 2,000 organized by Forbes and other Black Democrats to oppose the indictments, Wright asked, "Why didn't they mobilize that kind of support for desegregation when the court postponed the long-awaited busing plan? And why didn't they mobilize support for the thousands of Black youth in this city who cannot find jobs?"

"If the indicted city councilors really want to fight racism, I challenge them to break from the racist Democratic Party."

SWP ballot suit before Supreme Court

The U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments Monday, November 6, in a suit to lower signature requirements for putting independent candidates and new parties on the Chicago ballot.

The SWP had filed suit in the spring of 1977 challenging the requirement that it collect more than 63,000 signatures in 81 days for a special election called when Chicago Mayor Richard Daley died. The suit pointed out that while Illinois law required local candidates to gather signatures equal to 5 percent of the previous vote for the office, statewide candidates needed no more than 25,000 signatures.

Both the federal district and appeals courts agreed, and the Chicago Board of Elections went along with the ruling. But the Illinois State Board of Elections appealed it.

Also heard were attorneys for the ultra-right "U.S. Labor Party," which has filed a similar suit.

The Socialist Workers Party has announced that it will run Andrew Pulley in the April 1979 mayoral race. Pulley, who was the SWP's candidate for Congress from the 1st C.D. in 1976, is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1066.

For an independent labor party

In a message to a recent SWP campaign rally in Los Angeles, Social Service Employees Union Executive Director David Crippen explained that "I, personally, have long recognized the record of the Socialist Workers Party in campaigning for the formation of a political party responsible to working people."

Crippen explained that the union executive board "declined to endorse any candidate for governor" in the November 7 elections. He cited state and federal government attacks on the labor movement and the standard of living of working people as "a few of the reasons why we need to build a political party which is responsible to working people, a political party that will tax those who can and should pay, a political party that will not be the lackey of the corporations and the rich."

The executive board of the 6,000-member statewide local of the Service Employees International Union had adopted a resolution calling for an independent labor party.

—Bob Schwarz

How labor defeated 'right to work' fraud



Thousands turned out for Labor Day parade in St. Louis where the theme was 'No to right to work'

Militant/Bob Allen

By Lynn Edmiston and Tim Kaminski

ST. LOUIS—Missouri voters delivered big business a major setback November 7 when they overwhelmingly rejected the union-busting "right to work" amendment.

In an election where the highest statewide race was for auditor, the controversial amendment is credited with a record voter turnout—the biggest in a nonpresidential election in forty-four years.

"If the voters' rejection of right to work was surprising," editorialized the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "the extent of it was startling." Amendment 23 lost by three to two, with 939,026 votes against it and 629,631 in favor. In Kansas City it lost five to three, and in St. Louis—where it was rejected in every single ward—the margin was four to one.

"It was backed by nearly every major newspaper and by business interests outside the St. Louis area," continued the *Post-Dispatch* editorial, "yet it collapsed in the voting of many rural counties."

In fact, even if all the votes had not been counted in the city of St. Louis, St. Louis County, and Kansas City's Jackson County, the so-called right-to-work law would still have been rejected.

The magnitude of the defeat not only buries the issue in this state for some time to come, but also presents a serious obstacle in the national drive by opponents of unionism.

Missouri targeted

Things didn't always look so bright for the labor movement here.

The "right to work" (RTW) forces began the campaign in Missouri more than a year ago. As a state, Missouri ranks fourteenth in industry and tenth in percentage of workers unionized. Making it the twenty-first state with "right to work" legislation was to have been the first shot in an anti-union assault on the industrial North.

Missouri seemed a logical first target. Recently, employers in St. Louis succeeded in busting a major steelworkers local at Hussmann Refrigeration.

PRIDE (Productivity and Responsibility will Increase Development and the Economy)—a St. Louis group made up of construction union officials and major contractors—has managed to eliminate strikes in that industry and give up work rules, while employment has waned.

In Kansas City, a major teachers'

strike in the spring of 1977 was badly defeated.

The anti-union RTW forces were encouraged by these and other big-business victories. They counted on the labor movement not to fight back.

The proposed state constitutional amendment would have outlawed the union shop in Missouri. Union security clauses requiring workers to join the union or to pay dues would have become illegal.

Its effect would have been to lower wages and sharply cut back on job security and job rights for all Missouri's working people. And nationally as well as locally, it would have added new fuel to the employer offensive against labor.

But, of course, that's not how the RTW forces—organized into the Missouri Freedom to Work Committee—explained it. They pushed their phony concept of "individual freedom"—that each worker should be "free" to join the union or not, ignoring the fact that all workers benefit from the union contract.

New jobs?

They claimed a "right to work" Missouri would encourage economic development and create new jobs, ignoring the fact that other states with such legislation have the lowest wages and the greatest poverty in the country.

And, exploiting the dissatisfaction many union members feel toward their bureaucratic misleaderships, the RTW backers charged the union movement in Missouri is "corrupt" and that union officials are unresponsive and live high off membership dues.

Early in the year, polls by both the union movement and proponents of the antilabor law showed it would win by as high as two to one.

"There isn't a lot of anti-union sentiment in Missouri," admitted John Brasington, a spokesperson for the antilabor campaign. But with only business's distorted story being told, there was mass confusion.

The first response from the labor movement was the formation of the United Labor Committee (ULC), which was joined by the top leaderships of every union in the state. The only thing it did initially was to launch an internal campaign to get union members to register to vote.

The committee also sued to get the amendment taken off the ballot, citing numerous violations of the state law by the RTW petitioners. That approach failed.

With a push from the ranks, several local unions formed "Right to Truth"

Committees" to combat the RTW lies. "Right to Work is a Ripoff" caps and bumper stickers appeared everywhere.

Labor Day parade

An indication of the willingness of unionists to take action to defeat the threat to their unions was shown in St. Louis on September 9. Thousands turned out for the Labor Day parade—with a "No to 'Right to Work'" theme—despite the low-key publicity campaign by the labor officialdom.

Yet there was still little effort made to link the anti-union RTW drive with the general offensive against working people, ranging from massive unemployment to attacks on the rights of Blacks and women.

In Kansas City, for example, banker George Lehr became a major spokesperson for organized labor, warning that the RTW amendment would be bad for business in Missouri.

With only about a month left until the elections, the union officials shifted gears from the voter registration emphasis to a massive advertising blitz.

Individual union locals and committees put out their own literature and held meetings. Several public debates between unionists and RTW proponents were held on campuses.

And in the final days before the elections, more than 18,000 in St. Louis and thousands more in Kansas City mobilized to do door-to-door canvassing, as well as distribution at polling places.

Another major factor in beating back the union-busting drive was the support of the allies of the labor movement—Black activists, feminists, environmentalists, farmers groups, and students.

At the ULC's request, the Urban League and the NAACP went on a major voter registration drive. They distributed leaflets quoting Dr. Martin Luther King to the effect that supporters of RTW laws were also supporters of segregation.

The A. Philip Randolph Institute in Kansas City formed a "Concerned Citizens Against the Right to Work" and helped organize to defeat the amendment in the Black community there.

The St. Louis chapters of the National Organization for Women, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Women's Political Caucus, and Missouri Equal Rights Amendment Coalition jointly sponsored an anti-RTW, pro-ERA rally.

The National Association of Black Women sponsored anti-RTW ads on KATZ radio in St. Louis, a Black station.

A St. Louis gay women's group printed its own posters urging defeat for the RTW and plastered them up all over town.

"Right to Truth" committees sprang up on campuses across the state.

Farmers crucial

The support of the farmers movement proved critical. The game plan of the RTW backers was to win enough votes in rural Missouri to offset the expected labor strength in the cities. The plan backfired.

The National Farmers Organization in northwest Missouri and the American Agriculture Movement, which led the farm strike in Missouri's Bootheel region, both put out literature against the antilabor amendment.

Farmers' representatives were invited to labor meetings. An AAM member was a featured speaker at a city-wide meeting of United Auto Workers locals in St. Louis.

Without the rural farmers' vote, RTW could not have been defeated.

The news media here is portraying the anti-RTW campaign as a rebirth of the "Roosevelt coalition"—"consumer groups, union workers, Blacks, Democratic politicians, and populist farmers."

That conveniently throws labor's victory into the lap of the Democratic Party. But the truth lies in the opposite direction. With few exceptions, Democratic candidates campaigned on every issue *except* RTW. Most didn't publicly oppose the union-busting ballot measure until a few days before the election.

Democratic Sen. Edward Kennedy did speak at an anti-RTW rally three weeks before the election, but there certainly was no national effort by the Democratic Party. Carter refused to say anything at all about the proposed "right to work" law until after the election.

It was only when the union officialdom finally abandoned the ploy of relying on "friend of labor" Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick to knock the amendment off the ballot, and began to reach out to its membership and labor's allies, that public opinion shifted in labor's favor.

The resounding defeat of union-busting here has rekindled interest and confidence in the union movement. That will bear fruit as working people are confronted with new attacks on our rights and living standards.

What socialists said

By Mark Baugher

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Jim Levitt was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the Fifth Congressional District here.

He is also a member of United Steelworkers Local 3844 and was chairperson of the "Right to Truth" Committee in his local.

Levitt and his campaign supporters distributed thousands of copies of a four-page brochure explaining the meaning of Amendment 23, the mislabeled right-to-work law, for working people.

Levitt pointed to the need for labor to champion the demands of both union and unorganized workers, the unemployed, and Blacks and women as part of the campaign against Amendment 23.

The Democratic and Republican parties, he explained, encouraged the "right to work" effort with their bipartisan support to the big-business assault on working people.

Levitt campaigned for the idea that labor should break with the twin parties of the employers and form its own independent party based on the trade unions.

Griffin Bell bids to escape contempt order

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—A federal appeals court will now decide if a contempt-of-court citation should be enforced against Attorney General Griffin Bell. He had been held in contempt for defying a court order to turn over FBI informer files to the Socialist Workers Party.

A three-judge panel heard Bell's appeal to overturn the citation at a session here November 15. Their ruling is expected to be handed down before the end of the year.

Arguing to uphold the contempt ruling was Leonard Boudin, the noted constitutional attorney. Boudin is chief counsel for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in their suit against FBI spying and harassment.

Bell's appeal was argued by U.S. attorney Robert Fiske.

Fiske urged the court to void the contempt citation against Bell, as well as the earlier ruling that he turn over secret government files on eighteen informers to the SWP.

Fiske asserted that to require the attorney general to turn over the files would do "incalculable harm to the nation's ability to defend itself."

Above the law?

This demagogic was effectively punctured by Boudin, who noted that the issue is a simple one: Is the attorney general above the law? Can he, with impunity, defy a valid court order?

Bell was held in contempt this past July 6 by federal Judge Thomas Griesa for refusing to turn over the files.

Griesa had ordered that the files be given to attorneys for the SWP after he had read some of them and concluded that they contained essential information relating to the SWP's charge of illegal and unconstitutional government activity.

In fact, Griesa had found the evidence in the informer files "so basic and essential" that no major issue in the case could be properly resolved without them.



LEONARD BOUDIN Militant/Harry Ring

Listening to the U.S. attorney's argument, it seemed that the government agreed. Fiske told the court that the attorney general would "rather lose the case" than let loose the files.

Pursuing the point, he noted that in criminal cases the government has the option of dropping a prosecution rather than unmasking informers. He apparently overlooked the fact that in this particular case the government is the defendant, not the prosecutor.

Fiske did not, of course, openly concede that the government simply could not afford disclosure of the kind of illegal activity detailed in the files.

Nor did he explain that the Carter administration has decided that protecting its supersecret network of political spies and provocateurs is such a top priority that it is willing to take the unprecedented step of having the nation's "top law-enforcement officer" openly defy a federal court order.

Fiske invoked what the government claims is an "informers' privilege" of

absolute secrecy.

This argument was knocked down by Boudin. He noted that the FBI's own manual states that informers must be prepared for possible government exposure of their identity. He also pointed out that informers have been exposed in numerous other cases.

Responding to a rather hostile observation from one of the judges that he seemed intent on getting the attorney general jailed for contempt, Boudin responded that all he wanted was for Bell to obey the law and turn over the files.

'Not much left'

Fiske sought to demonstrate that the government was trying to be reasonable. He said they were entirely willing to turn over the files after deleting the names of the informers and any information that might make it possible to identify them.

The courtroom burst into laughter when he added the apparently unguarded thought, "Admittedly, there wouldn't be much left."

In his rebuttal to Boudin, Fiske again asserted the government's right to "lose this case." It is, he declared, like a company that prefers to lose a suit uncontested rather than disclose a "trade secret."

The claim that the government is ready to "lose" the case is, of course, pure fakery. The fine print in the language of the penalty it offers to accept in return for retaining the files proves it to be no penalty at all.

But Fiske was telling the truth when he asserted the government's determination to keep the lid on its "trade secrets."

There is a great deal more involved than disclosure of the dirty tricks the government played against the SWP.

In a sense, it's like the Watergate revelations. There, what began as a probe of a single crime—the Nixon administration's burglary of the Democratic national headquarters—escalated into a scandal that rocked the country.

It included disclosure of a vast political police network callously trampling on the legal rights of Americans, with the surveillance practices going all the way back to the Roosevelt administration.

What's at stake

That's what's involved in the SWP suit. That's why the government is trying so desperately to stonewall.

The illegal government acts against the SWP—a legal political party—represent a pattern of secret police activity that has become a part of the fabric of American political life.

For the federal, state, and local government today—not to speak of private industry—the "right to spy" has become essential.

Virtually every civilian and military agency of the federal government employs a huge stable of informers. A major function of this secret force is to seek out and combat—by any means necessary—political dissidence, real or potential.

As Watergate and the disclosures in the SWP suit and others have confirmed, this web of secret police does not hesitate to flout the law in its efforts to harass, intimidate, and victimize those countless numbers on its various "enemies" lists.

No one immune

No sector of society that possesses the potential for effective dissent has been immune. Documentary proof has already disclosed illegal tricks against unionists, activists in the Black and Chicano movements, women's liberation and gay rights supporters, and a lot more.

The capacity of the SWP to put the government in a spot where the attorney finds himself pleading for relief from a contempt citation only intensifies ruling-class hostility to the Bill of Rights.

But it's also helping to teach a lot of people about the real nature of this "democratic" government.

...African conference

Continued from page 7

and longtime peace movement activist Norma Becker, proposed such compromises on the floor. But the disrupters were not interested in unity.

An example of the unity that is possible was given by Roger Horowitz, an activist in the University of Chicago Action Committee on South Africa and a YSA member. Horowitz pointed out that the YSA, RSB, and other political groups worked together in his campus committee.

"We have existed for a year, and we are more united now than ever. . . . We are united in our perspective of building a movement against the U.S. presence in South Africa, for corporate withdrawal, and university divestiture."

Although some people at the conference were confused by the red-baiting campaign, other activists zeroed in on the real issue. Aaron Stern, from the Cornell Coalition Against Apartheid, objected because "people are beginning to demand that we have ideological unity, that we have 'a principled stand,' as they put it."

Stern explained that such an attitude could only tear apart the coalition. "What unifies us is the concrete movement for the U.S. to get out of southern Africa."

Fred Curtis, from the University of Massachusetts, said: "I've heard a lot of name-calling. I'm against apartheid, and I don't think these other questions should stand in the way of unity in

this struggle."

Myra Brown, from Dartmouth, said: "I think the value of this coalition was demonstrated earlier when we agreed to have united actions in many different places across the country."

"I think that saying we support liberation struggles is important, but if we can't agree on that then we should limit the demands. You can't kick people out of the coalition, or else it's not a coalition."

Because of the disruption, the conference was unable to get to many important resolutions. But as Maceo Dixon of the SWP said shortly before it ended:

"Regardless of our differences, at the beginning of this meeting we passed a motion for April 4-11 actions. And regardless of our differences, we're going to build them on our campuses, and we're going to build them in our unions, and we're going to build them in our communities. We're going to build them till we win."

Tens of thousands of students in every part of the country are angry at Washington's support for the racist regimes in southern Africa. Many working people, especially Blacks, are also angry and ready for action.

The April 4-11 week of protests can involve these thousands in action against the U.S. government and in defense of the Black freedom struggle in Africa. Building these protests is the next step in building the anti-apartheid movement.

**Rally to Stop FBI Crimes
Demand Bell turn over informer files**

**Sat, Dec. 9,
Tishman Aud.,
7pm NYU Law School**

Corner W. 4th St. and MacDougal, New York City

Hear:

- Robert Meeropol—son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, Fund for Open Information and Accountability (FOIA Inc.)
- Linda Jenness—Socialist Workers Party
- Leonard Boudin—constitutional rights attorney
- Héctor Marroquín—fighting for political asylum in U.S.
- Dave Dellinger—Seven Days magazine
- Imani Kazana—coordinator, National Wilmington Ten Defense Committee
- Annette Rubinstein—literary critic
- Henry Foner, pres., Fur, Leather & Machine Wks. Jt. Bd., N.Y.C., AFL-CIO
- Barbara Miner, Guardian newspaper news editor

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Whitewashes repression in Mexico

State Dep't tells INS: 'Deport Marroquin'

By Roger Rudenstein

The State Department has advised the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) that political refugee Héctor Marroquin should be deported to Mexico. The "advisory opinion" was issued last June but only released by the INS this month.

Although the INS will make the final decision on Marroquin's asylum request, the State Department's "opinion" carries much weight. INS officials have given Marroquin's attorneys only until November 27 to reply to the State Department letter.

The State Department acted without considering any of the proof amassed by Marroquin's attorneys over the last year, or even informing them that such a ruling was in the offing.

"I am calling on all supporters of human rights to protest this outrageous denial of my rights," said Héctor Marroquin. "How can the State Department rule on my right to asylum without even looking at the evidence?"

"So far we've sent hundreds of pages of testimony and data to the INS—the last thing we sent was over 300 pages long. But the State Department didn't look at any of it. Only public pressure can force the State Department to back



HECTOR MARROQUIN
Militant/Susan Ellis

down and retract its unfair and arbitrary ruling."

Protests and telegrams should be sent to: Cyrus Vance, Secretary of State, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520 (send copies to the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee, Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003).

The State Department ruling makes clear that top Carter administration officials want to hush up the growing revelations of brutal repression in Mexico. They are willing to do this even if it means sending victims of the regime, such as Marroquin, back to face torture and death.

The brief, one-and-a-half-page ruling concedes that Marroquin's story, if true, could cause him "to fear return to his homeland."

However, it goes on to cite the State Department's own report on human rights practices in Mexico issued in 1978: "As stated in this report," the opinion continues, "fair public trials in Mexico are the norm, while some exceptions have been noted."

The *Washington Post* has reported that such "exceptions" have resulted in the jailing of almost 400 political prisoners. In addition, more than 360 people have been "disappeared" by cops and right-wing terror squads armed by the regime.

Yet the State Department insists that "human rights violations . . . are not condoned by the Government of Mexico."

In the "human rights" report, which is attached to the ruling, the State

Department says: "The Mexican Government has consistently denied reports that it holds political prisoners." But both this report and the June ruling are both seriously out of date.

In September, the Mexican government passed an amnesty law. The law has correctly been called "insufficient" and "full of loopholes" by Mexican rights activists. However, it marks the first time that the Mexican government has been forced to admit the existence of political prisoners.

In fact, Héctor Marroquin himself is on the government's list of political prisoners and exiles.

But the State Department officials couldn't have known in June that their lies would be exposed by the very regime for which they were trying to cover up.

In order to justify its refusal to grant asylum to Marroquin, the State Department uncritically accepts the Mexican government's story that Marroquin was a terrorist and guilty of "serious non-political crimes." To make a case for this, the opinion says that Marroquin joined the Comité Estudiantil Revolucionario (CER), a group that later developed toward

Continued on page 16

Detroit City Council backs Marroquin asylum

"WHEREAS in January 1974 the Mexican government falsely accused Héctor Marroquin of murder, assault, and subversion, forcing him to seek refuge in the U.S. . . . and

"WHEREAS Héctor Marroquin was a leader of student protests for democratic rights . . . along with several other student activists who also have been falsely accused of the same crime and who have reportedly been tortured by the Mexican police, killed in broad daylight, or have disappeared while in police custody, and

"WHEREAS a similar fate awaits Héctor Marroquin if he is deported to Mexico . . .

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Detroit Common Council acknowledge Héctor Marroquin's right to political asylum provided by the United Nations and ratified and acceded to by the U.S."

By Susan Fink

DETROIT—Héctor Marroquin was welcomed here with this resolution of support from the city council.

The resolution was presented and read at a November 9 city-wide rally for Marroquin at Wayne State University.

Among the many speakers at the rally was E. Faye Williams, assistant director of the Detroit Metropolitan Michigan Education Association. Since the National Education Association (NEA) voted to endorse Marroquin's right to political asylum at its national convention last summer, NEA members and chapters have spoken out in defense of Marroquin

and helped organize defense activities for him around the country.

"I would like to be one of the first," Williams began, "to say, Héctor, as far as we're concerned, you're welcome to stay in the United States."

"If you keep up with the news," she added, "you'll know that we're rated as one of the most powerful organizations in the state and the NEA as one of the most powerful organizations in the country. And we're proud to put that power behind the seeking of political asylum for Héctor Marroquin."

Also speaking was Pete Camarata, a member of the Teamsters union, steward in Local 299, and executive board member of Teamsters for a Democratic Union.

"I wish I could come here today and say that I had the Teamsters union's support for Héctor Marroquin," said Camarata. "But I'm afraid they support the Mexican government. What really comes as enlightenment to many of the workers that I work with is that it's evident that this struggle now no longer is just in Mexico or South Africa, this struggle goes on here in the U.S."

He continued, "Those of us who support you in the Teamsters say, right on, Héctor, because your struggle is ours."

Marroquin had participated in a Teamsters organizing drive shortly after taking refuge in this country.

Also speaking at the rally were Connell Harper, president of the Women's Justice Center; Dave Pearl of the Michigan Coalition to End Government Spying; Ronald Reosti of the Detroit

National Lawyers Guild; Rob Sinclair-Smith of the Young Socialist Alliance; and a representative of the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee.

The Detroit chapter of the defense committee has been preparing for Marroquin's tour for months. By the time Marroquin arrived here, numerous supporters were eager to meet him. Marroquin spoke to more than 600 people in a series of meetings. He spoke at a Chicano-Boricua Studies class at Wayne State University; at a meeting in a local Mexican community church; informally with workers at the Ford River Rouge auto plant complex; at a

weekend school for working students; and at the city-wide rally, where he was greeted with a standing ovation.

Members of his defense committee told the *Militant* they were spurred on in building his tour by the realization that the INS is preparing to rule at any time on his application for asylum.

"By hard work and patiently explaining his case," said one of his supporters, "we were also able to raise over \$1,500 for the national defense campaign. That will be helpful in meeting the tremendous costs of publicizing the case, and the upcoming legal battles."

Esmail: 'We cannot remain idle or quiet'

The following is a letter from Sami Esmail in support of Héctor Marroquin's asylum request. It was provided to the 'Militant' by the Héctor Marroquin Defense Committee.

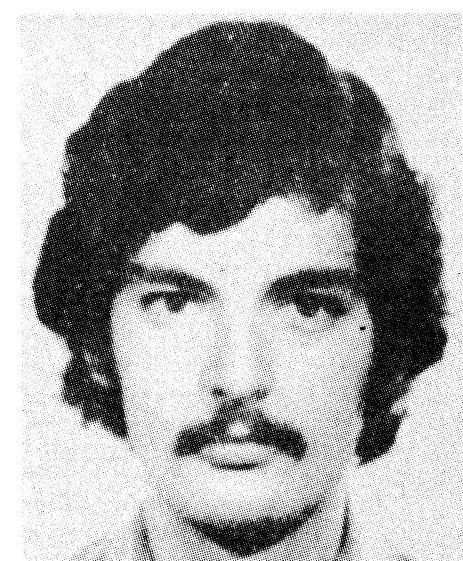
Esmail, an American citizen of Palestinian extraction, was arrested a year ago by the Israeli government when he arrived there to visit his ailing father, who lived in the Israeli-occupied West Bank area. The Zionists charged Esmail with membership in a Palestinian organization illegal in Israel.

All the 'evidence' against him, which came from the FBI, consisted of legal political activities in the United States. His real crime, as far as the Israeli government was concerned, was his anti-Zionist activism.

After a brief show trial, Esmail was convicted. But worldwide publicity and support won his release in September. He has since returned to his studies at Michigan State University in East Lansing.

"In my case the FBI not only surveilled my legal political activities, which is sad in itself, but transmitted this information to a foreign intelligence agency, the Zionist Shin Bet, which in turn used such information to prosecute me, an American citizen, a tragedy indeed."

"With this, one cannot be too surprised at attempts by various U.S. government agencies to have Héctor handed over to Mexican authorities to be prosecuted. We cannot remain idle or quiet. We must speak out loudly and let our voices be heard. Héctor Marroquin must be granted political asylum!"



SAMI ESMAIL: Victim of Israeli frame-up urges support for Marroquin.



Teamster Pete Camarata speaking at Detroit rally

Militant/Mark Rogers

'Can't sell it to members'

Union officials balk at Carter's wage limits

By Fred Feldman

The Carter administration's attempt to limit workers' wage and benefit increases to a maximum of 7 percent—well below current inflation rates—hasn't gone over.

Carter's guidelines are intended to help employers in upcoming contract negotiations in the oil, trucking, electrical, auto, garment, and other industries.

Oil industry representatives are insisting that the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union accept a 7 percent settlement. They count on the government to put maximum pressure on the union to yield.

OCAW President A.F. Grospiron has voiced opposition to the guidelines. Describing the results of discussions with local union officials, he said, "People say, 'Look, we've got a program.' I don't hear anyone say, 'Live within the guidelines.'" He continued, "My position is that guidelines, voluntary or mandatory, are not going to work."

Officials of the International Association of Machinists have also rejected the guidelines. IAM Local 1037 in Minnesota is on strike against Pako Corporation, which makes photographic processing equipment. Like the oil billionaires, Pako insists that its employees swallow Carter's wage-cutting guidelines.

"We can't sell a 7 percent package to

our membership with inflation rising the way it is," said Leo Walter, business agent for IAM District 77. Another IAM official told *Business Week*, "We've told our locals to bargain as if [the guidelines] didn't exist. Contract time is the perfect opportunity for companies to start flag-waving in support of the program."

Carter's hopes that top Teamster officials would bow to the guidelines in national trucking contract negotiations were shaken when union head Frank Fitzsimmons criticized the Carter proposal.

The November 10 *New York Times* reported, "Mr. Fitzsimmons indicated he might be able to work within some guideline program, but it is the 7 percent that the teamsters don't accept. Particularly, the union leader complained that while price guidelines were flexible, 'the wage and fringe benefit standard of 7 percent appears to be fairly rigid—in fact, etched in granite.'

AFL-CIO President George Meany also denounced the guidelines but called instead for mandatory wage and price controls. Meany thinks such controls would make it possible for union bureaucrats to dodge responsibility for accepting inadequate wage settlements.

An exception to the chorus of opposition from labor leaders to Carter's antilabor program was the United Auto Workers officialdom. They have

offered "critical support" to Carter's wage and price guidelines. Said UAW President Douglas Fraser, "We are hopeful that the plan will be fairly administered and that the American people will see their sacrifices result in controlling the inflation devastating the economy right now."

Despite Fraser's rush to Carter's rescue, the administration is now hinting that the guidelines will be made more flexible in the area of fringe benefits. Such cosmetic changes, reported the November 11 *Washington Post*, will be "a gesture to organized labor."

Cost-of-killing increase

Both the targets and the beneficiaries of Carter's "anti-inflation" scam were spotlighted by recent events.

On November 11 Charles Schultze, chairman of Carter's Council of Economic Advisers, predicted federal budget cuts of 15 to 20 billion dollars.

However, these cuts won't affect everybody. The military brass can rest easy. They're scheduled to get a hefty cost-of-killing increase.

The *New York Times* reported November 16 that Carter has "tentatively decided to increase the military budget to nearly \$124 billion next year." This "would increase military spending 3 percent above the inflation rate."

The *Times* added that the decision "came at a time when Mr. Carter had made it plain that domestic and

social programs would face delays and cutbacks to reduce the rate of Government spending."

Some returns on the impact of Carter's plan on the cost of living are beginning to come in. On November 14, the Department of Agriculture predicted an increase in food prices of 8 to 10 percent in 1979. And the price of heating oil used in apartments and homes has gone up 8 percent in the past two months. "The winter of 1978-79 is shaping up as the most costly ever for consumers who depend on oil heat."

Well, that's the war against inflation. While most of us are enjoined to prove our patriotism by working harder, earning less, tightening our belts, and shivering in our homes, Carter aims to shower profits on the owners of agribusiness, the oil giants, and war industries. —F.F.

Ariz., Calif., Penna.

Strikes signal resistance to pay guidelines

Employers are using Carter's call for wage restrictions as a pretext to crack down on wages and fringe benefits. But three strikes challenging the Carter guidelines signal that workers are going to put up tough resistance.

In Vernon, California, United Steelworkers Local 4997 voted unanimously to strike the Byron Jackson Pump Division of Borg-Warner Corporation November 5. The union represents about 750 of the 800 workers at Byron Jackson.

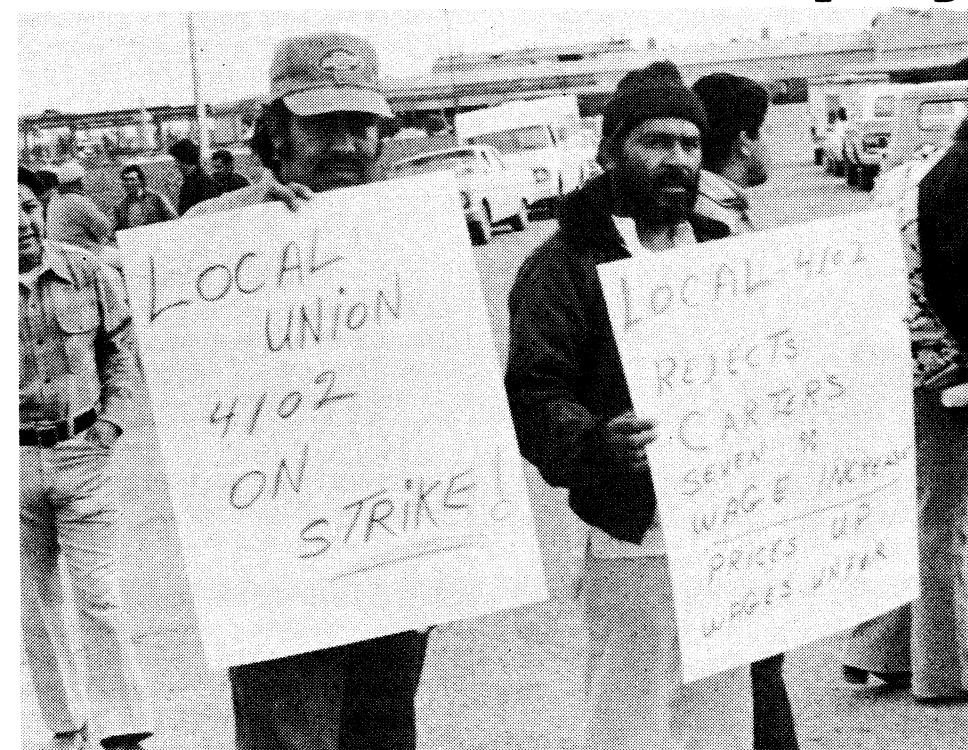
Workers are demanding a cost-of-living increase and a union shop. The company's counterproposal pretended to offer a 10 percent increase and 8 percent the second and third years. But another provision would have bound the union to a "memorandum of agreement" canceling any benefits that violated the Carter guidelines.

Militant correspondent Jack Shepard reports, "Workers here feel that their wages won't be protected without a cost-of-living adjustment. The great majority of the people I talked to said this was more important than a straight wage increase. They want COLA and a union shop for job and wage security."

On November 18, members of the United Electrical Workers Local 610 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, voted to accept a revised contract with Westinghouse Air Brake Company and Union Switch and Signal. Both firms are owned by the conglomerate American Standard, Inc. The vote ended an eighteen-day strike with modest gains for the 3,800 workers.

The company opened negotiations last August with a demand for twenty-six provisions aimed at penalizing absences and speeding up the work force. The day after Carter's October 24 speech, it proposed a wage increase estimated by the union as no more than 5.5 percent.

Militant correspondent Bill McCaughey reports from Pittsburgh,



Tempe, Arizona, steelworkers defy Carter's bite-the-bullet wage scheme

"The union negotiating committee rejected the proposal. The union issued a leaflet explaining that workers were not the cause of inflation and calling for a freeze on profits instead of wages.

"Rallies were held at noon that day and the next. Local and international leaders spoke, vowing that they would never accept Carter's 7 percent limit. All the workers in the plants left early to attend these rallies, which received much news coverage."

Just before the contract deadline, union negotiators endorsed a new company offer. It represented a retreat by the company, which did not win a single one of the givebacks it had demanded. Workers gained an uncapped cost-of-living adjustment and a new dental plan.

Union members were dissatisfied with the wage provisions. While they

went beyond Carter's 7 percent limit the first year of the agreement, general increases were only 3 percent for the second and third years. Most thought the pension provisions were also inadequate.

The contract was narrowly voted down, and workers walked off the job at midnight on October 31. At first the company refused to negotiate, but the workers held firm. On November 15 the company asked to reopen contract talks. The following day, agreement was reached on a new contract that slightly improved the wage and pension provisions of the first. This contract was approved at a November 18 mass meeting.

UE 610's struggle shows that a united and well-organized response can force the employers to retreat, Carter plan or no Carter plan.

On November 17, members of USWA Local 4102 at the Midland-Ross Capitol Casting Division in Tempe, Arizona, voted to end an eight-day strike.

The strike began November 9 when workers voted to reject a company contract offer endorsed by local President Cruz Flores. The contract put a ten-cent cap on COLA, doubled probation to sixty days, made no provision for dental care, and allowed raises of only 8 percent, 7 percent, and 6 percent respectively for the three years of the contract.

Flores insisted this was the best contract that could be obtained, given Carter's guidelines. But the workers, most of whom are Chicanos, disagreed. The contract was rejected, and the strike began.

On Sunday, November 12, about 350 workers packed a union meeting to review the strike vote. Flores introduced a federal mediator, who praised the contract and threatened that Carter would adopt mandatory wage controls with an even lower wage limit if workers didn't accept the guidelines. But the workers voted by a big margin to stay on strike.

Midland-Ross got a court injunction limiting the strikers to two pickets at the plant entrance. This meant trucks could go in and bring out balls and castings without confronting a picket line. The company also brought in scabs, using the hiring service at a local university.

Flores, who continued to oppose the strike, blocked efforts to get support from other unions or from the Central Labor Council. The strike did get the endorsement of the campus MEChA chapter. Under the circumstances, the workers decided to accept the company offer and go back to work.

Despite the setback, according to Militant correspondent Dan Fein, workers at Midland-Ross are looking forward to taking on the company again in their fight for basic justice.

Militant will go well over fall sales goal

By Peter Seidman

With three issues still to go in a drive to sell 100,000 papers by December 15, supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are now only 470 short of their goal.

Despite the impact of freezing weather in some places, all indications are that the *Militant's* unsurpassed news and analysis of the continuing revolutionary upsurge in Iran will carry the drive well over the top.

From coast to coast, issue number 43 of the *Militant* (dated November 17, 1978) met with an enthusiastic response—not only from Iranian students but from all in this country who identify with the struggles of the oppressed and exploited for a better life.

As one salesperson in the big industrial center of Gary, Indiana—where there are few Iranian students—explained, "General interest in Iran was high. Everybody knows something is going on. But people don't seem to believe the big-business press."

The response from Iranian students was "just incredible," Berkeley SWP organizer Anne Chase reported. "Teams dispatched to business colleges where there are large numbers of Iranian students sold at least sixty papers in a very short time."

A team of Dallas socialists traveled to the University of Texas in Arlington, where they sold forty-eight *Militants*—mainly to Iranian students—in one hour.

In Louisville, Kentucky, three religious Muslim Iranian students, who "wouldn't have come" to a socialist meeting "three weeks ago," attended a Militant Forum on Iran. "You take care of getting the U.S. government out of Iran," they told the audience during discussion, "and we'll take care of the shah."

Sales at picket lines and protest meetings about Iran are also continuing to run high. In Anaheim, Califor-

nia, near Los Angeles, for example, twenty-one *Militants* were sold at a picket line of 200 called by the Iranian Students Association outside a military electronics exposition.

Another 100 *Militants* were sold right after this picket line to some 600 antinuclear demonstrators who descended on the same exposition!

Miami socialists sold forty-two copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* last week. Fifteen of these were sold at the Christian Evangelical Reformed church, a place in Miami's Cuban community where sentiment for lifting the U.S. blockade against Cuba runs high.

Another fifteen were sold to migrant workers at the Everglades Migrant camp. This was the first time a *Perspectiva Mundial* sales team had gone to this camp, and it "got a really good response." Many of the workers there travel back and forth to Ohio, salespeople report. "They were very political, and many are affiliated with the Farm Labor Organizing Committee and the United Farm Workers."



Militant/Susan Muysenberg

Weekly sales goals

CITY	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Percent
Minneapolis	135	178			135	178	131.9
Berkeley	135	190	15	1	150	191	127.3
Phoenix	110	116	15	38	125	154	123.2
Dallas	125	138	20	39	145	177	122.1
Kansas City, Mo.	100	122	8	9	108	131	121.3
San Diego	105	133	20	10	125	143	114.4
San Jose	110	105	20	41	130	146	112.3
Los Angeles	400	431	100	100	500	531	106.2
Tacoma	125	130			125	130	104.0
Albuquerque	115	124	20	16	135	140	103.7
Newark	140	136	10	19	150	155	103.3
Salt Lake City	125	138	10	1	135	139	103.0
Oakland	160	147	15	30	175	177	101.1
Denver	120	125	20	15	140	140	100.0
Gary, Ind.	50	50			50	50	100.0
Morgantown	125	125			125	125	100.0
San Antonio	75	75	25	25	100	100	100.0
Washington, D.C.	270	282	30	16	300	298	99.3
Portland	100	97			100	97	97.0
Seattle	145	144	5		150	144	96.0
Boston	225	215	25	18	250	233	93.2
Albany	100	95	5		105	95	90.5
Cleveland	115	107	5		120	107	89.2
Detroit	200	177	5		200	177	88.5
Baltimore	120	110	5		125	110	88.0
Pittsburgh	145	126	5	2	150	128	85.3
Tucson	30	25			30	25	83.3
Raleigh	125	104			125	104	83.2
Toledo	110	93	5		115	93	80.9
Milwaukee	120	94	5	6	125	100	80.0
St. Paul	95	79	5		100	79	79.0
Miami	110	67	40	42	150	109	72.7
New Orleans	115	86	5		120	86	71.7
Cincinnati	100	70			100	70	70.0
Philadelphia	235	175	25		260	175	67.3
San Francisco	250	132	25	48	275	180	65.5
Indianapolis	115	74			115	74	64.3
Iron Range, Minn.	50	28			50	28	56.0
New York	650	367	100	32	750	399	53.2
St. Louis	140	75	10		150	75	50.0
Atlanta	200	87	2		200	89	44.5
Chicago	385	160	65		450	160	35.6
Louisville	100	21			100	21	21.0
TOTALS	6605	5553	663	510	7268	6063	83.4

*Houston not reporting

These figures report sales for issue No. 43 of the 'Militant' and the first week of sales of issue No. 21 of 'Perspectiva Mundial'.

Antinuke actions mark Silkwood death

Between November 11 and 19 this fall antinuclear activists in some 120 places from coast to coast commemorated the anniversary of the death of Karen Silkwood. Silkwood, who worked in the Kerr-McGee plutonium plant in Cimarron, Oklahoma, died in a mysterious auto crash November 13, 1974. She was on her way to meet a reporter, and was carrying documents proving her charges of unsafe conditions in the plant. After the crash, the documents disappeared.

Following are accounts of some of these actions. The 'Militant' will carry more news on the Silkwood protests next week.

By Gene Lantz

OKLAHOMA CITY—Some 350 people, many representing anti-nuclear power and feminist groups from around the country, paid tribute here November 13 to the memory of Karen Silkwood.

About 100 of the delegates visited the now-shut-down Kerr-McGee plutonium plant where Silkwood worked, and retraced the route she drove the night she died.

The delegates also had a chance to talk with a former Kerr-McGee production manager (who asked that his name not be used). He described the many unsafe conditions in the plant—the very charges Karen Silkwood planned to document.

For example, he said that liquid radioactive wastes were sometimes

stored in drums so flimsy they began to leak even as they were being loaded for transport to a dumping ground. Employees were poorly trained, he added, and never told of the extreme danger from the radioactive materials they were forced to handle.

In the evening, a memorial rally was held in downtown Oklahoma City's Kerr-McGee Park.

Speakers included Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women; Bill and Merle Silkwood, Karen Silkwood's parents; Sara Nelson, head of the NOW Labor Task Force and others. Singer Bonnie Raitt also appeared.

The day's events were covered by a host of media including teams from the Netherlands and the British Broadcasting Company.

By Arnold Weissberg

"Despite the enormous power of the industry, despite the enormous spread of nuclear weapons, the anti-nuclear movement is bound to win," Dr. Barry Commoner told a crowd of 300 people at Columbia University in New York City November 12. Commoner spoke at a teach-in sponsored by the Shad Alliance and Mobilization for Survival.

"If the human race is going to survive, we must address this problem internationally," declared Kitty Tucker, head of Supporters of Silkwood. "None of us can stop nuclear power alone, but united we can have an impact."

Commoner agreed. "An alliance between those concerned with energy and those concerned with the cost of

living [the unions], is the alliance that can fulfill Karen Silkwood's dream," he said.

The meeting was broadly endorsed by groups including the Village-Chelsea NAACP, Harlem Fightback, and NOW-N.Y.

Two hundred fifty people came to a no-nukes rally in Denver November 14. The rally demanded justice for Karen Silkwood, a halt to production of the neutron bomb, and the release of a group of sixty antinuke activists now on trial for trespassing at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant last spring.

Daniel Ellsberg, one of the defend-

ants, told the rally, "When these American jurors have a chance to do something on this, they will acquit us."

Also speaking were Carole Mangan, president of Central Denver NOW, who noted that Karen Silkwood had "refused to play the passive role expected of her"; Dorothy Hores, a state board member of the Colorado Federation of Teachers; Alan Gummerson of Aurarians Against Nukes; and others.

Seven hundred people took part in a candlelight vigil November 14 in Anaheim, near Los Angeles, at an armaments show. The vigil was sponsored by the Southern California Alliance for Survival.



BARRY COMMONER: 'Antinuclear movement is bound to win'

Militant/Susan Ellis



We stood by our antiwar program The 'Militant' in World War II

By Harry Ring

George Breitman is best known as an editor of the twelve-volume *Writings of Leon Trotsky* and three books on Malcolm X.

Earlier, he served for various periods as editor of the *Militant* and as a staff writer.

He became a writer for the paper in June 1941, shortly after the indictments that led to the trial and imprisonment of eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters union.

Among those indicted was Felix Morrow, then editor of the *Militant*. Breitman replaced him, becoming editor in January 1942, about a month after U.S. entry into World War II. He served, then, until October 1943, shortly before he was drafted into the army.

In an interview related to the fiftieth anniversary of our founding, Breitman discussed some of the wartime experiences of the *Militant*.

Convictions in the Minneapolis trial were obtained by the Roosevelt administration under the Smith "Gag" Act. Later struck down by the Supreme Court, the act made the advocacy of ideas the basis for criminal prosecution.

The SWP trial climaxed a ferocious battle waged by Teamsters union President Dan Tobin to drive the Trotskyists out of the leadership of the union's Minneapolis affiliate.

Roosevelt came to Tobin's assistance to help assure a largely housebroken union movement upon entering the war. And to muzzle the wartime voice of a revolutionary party.

The Roosevelt-Tobin forces did succeed in driving the Trotskyists out of their elected positions in the Minneapolis Teamsters.

Wouldn't be silenced

But they didn't silence the Socialist Workers Party.

Or the *Militant*.

It wasn't for lack of trying. In addition to jailing most of the party's

central leadership—some for fifteen months, others for twelve—the government also moved to revoke the second-class mailing rights of the *Militant* on grounds that it was "seditious."

And, Breitman recalled, they did so in a political climate that was very unfavorable to us.

Our view of the U.S. role in the war, he explained, was not widely accepted.

Like Lenin, Debs, and other revolutionary socialists who opposed World War I, we saw the war between the United States, Britain, and France on one side, and Germany, Italy, and Japan on the other, as an interimperialist conflict. While we defended the Soviet Union as a workers state against Nazi aggression, and colonial countries such as China and India against their exploiters, we could not, as a matter of principle, support any of the imperialist powers.

Revolutionary socialists contended that the United States government entered the war against Germany and Japan to defend and advance its imperialist interests—not, as claimed, to fight fascism.

An effective struggle against fascism, we argued, required independent action by the world working class, a struggle that had as its goal the abolition of capitalism, which spawns fascism.

"We weren't able to convince many people about the correctness of our political position regarding the war," Breitman said. "But we were able to defend our positions effectively and to begin to reach some people with our ideas."

Stalinist superpatriots

In addition to the political problems inherent in such a wartime situation, Breitman said, there was a big added problem—that of ultrapatriotic, prowar Stalinism.

At that time, the Communist Party was a big, influential organization with a strong base in the unions. In terms of membership and active supporters, Breitman estimates, it outnum-

bered the SWP perhaps seventy-five to one.

By then, the Communist Party had totally abandoned Leninism and become a cynical instrument of Kremlin foreign policy. It subordinated the interests of the workers internationally to those of the privileged Moscow bureaucrats.

This led to overnight somersaults in CP policy.

In the mid-thirties, the Stalinists urged that the "democratic" imperialist powers unite against Germany and Italy.

Then, in 1939, Stalin signed a non-aggression pact with Hitler.

The CP became "antiwar."

In 1941, Hitler invaded the Soviet Union.

The CP became prowar.

"They now became the most rabid prowar force," Breitman said. "They wanted the union movement to quiet down, accept government wage-fixing, production speed up—'sacrifice for the war effort.'

"They told Black people to put off their struggle for equality until Hitler was defeated."

"They became favorites of the government," Breitman added. "They were useful in helping to keep the workers in line."

Trotskyism was their special target.

"From a local strike to any national protest activity, they were always there with all their forces, denouncing us and slandering us as 'fascists,'" Breitman said.

"And when the government used the Smith Act against us, they cheered, even though it was obvious that one day the same law would be used against them—as it was to be in 1951. They actually tried to prevent unions from extending support to us during the Minneapolis trial."

"Not only us," Breitman added. "Anyone who didn't support the war enthusiastically—at least a hundred percent. They denounced Norman Thomas as an 'agent of fascism.' Some of their people got so whipped up they

physically attacked a Quaker meeting in Seattle.

"So an important part of the task of this period," Breitman explained, "was to conduct an ideological and political struggle against Stalinism. We vigorously defended the Soviet Union against the Hitlerite invasion. But we equally vigorously opposed the Stalinist attempts to subordinate all progressive struggles in this country to Roosevelt's war machine. That necessarily gave a certain emphasis to what we wrote about."

March on Washington

There was plenty to write about.

Despite the admonitions of the government, media, and Stalinists, Black people persisted in pressing for their rights.

Nor did the warmakers succeed in housebreaking the entire labor movement.

The major expression of the fight for Black rights was the March on Washington movement.

This was founded early in 1941, prior to U.S. entry into the war, by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Its purpose was to organize a mass Black demonstration in Washington to demand an end to racial discrimination in industry and the armed forces.

A week before the slated march, Roosevelt moved to avert it by issuing an executive order establishing a Fair Employment Practices Committee.

Although the measure lacked teeth, Randolph called off the march.

Blacks did begin to get into industry at that time, Breitman said, although invariably, into the worst jobs.

The armed forces in 1941 were segregated. Blacks were assigned to separate units of the army, barred altogether from the marines, and to the mess department in the navy.

They were the target of special brutality by military and civilian police. In many areas, particularly in the South, they were attacked by whites in towns near military installations.

Blacks began to rebel against the treatment they were getting in industry and the military.

In the armed forces, in units around the globe, they protested the discrimination against them.

And on the "home front," too, the movement for equality gained momentum.

The March on Washington Movement was revived, this time as an organization rather than a committee. In 1943, it began holding mobilizations in major northern cities. A New York rally jammed Madison Square Garden. Ten thousand turned out in St. Louis. In other cities, the actions were of commensurate size.

These demonstrations, Breitman commented, "were testimony to the strong sentiment among Blacks that something should be done about their conditions—now, while the war was going on. They didn't intend to wait till after the war, the way the Stalinists and the government were trying to get them to do."

The *Militant* gave full support to this battle against Jim Crow. "We were a foremost defender of Black rights and of these struggles," Breitman said. "Politically aware people throughout the country were interested in what we had to say, because we struck a chord they responded to."

"During this time, a large part, if not a majority, of our papers were sold in the Black communities."

Because of its patriotic, no-struggle line, the CP couldn't relate to the Black movement, Breitman said.

Coal miners defy Roosevelt

"There was a certain vacuum on the left," he continued. "People who had been under CP influence were attracted to us during this period. We recruited some former CPers, and we attracted the sympathy of others. This was the background for the relatively strong recruitment of Blacks to our party at the end of the war."

...the 'Militant' in World War II

Continued from page 15

fending the eighteen.

It wasn't easy to rally support in wartime for socialists convicted of "sedition."

Yet, by effectively appealing to the labor movement and others on a clear-cut civil liberties basis, an impressive amount of opposition was generated.

A broad range of organizations and public figures supported the defense.

So did more than 150 international unions, local affiliates, and regional labor bodies representing some 5 million workers.

The effective fight against the Minneapolis frame-up helped to ward off or blunt other government attacks on our rights.

Mailing rights

One such attack was the move to revoke the second-class mailing rights of the *Militant*. Without the special,

lower postal rates provided publications with second-class rights, mailing costs are prohibitive, especially for small publications.

In World War I, revocation of second-class rights was used by the government to silence a number of publications critical of the war.

In World War II, there weren't that many antiwar publications.

They went after the *Militant*.

Shortly after publication of our November 7, 1942 issue, phone calls began coming from SWP branches and from subscribers.

They hadn't received their bundles or their subscriptions.

What had happened? The post office advised that they had found the contents "objectionable" and destroyed the issue.

They did the same with the next two issues.

In response to our protest, the gov-

ernment notified us that on January 30, 1943, we could appear at a postal hearing in Washington to show cause why the *Militant's* second-class mailing rights should not be revoked.

At that hearing it was disclosed that the proposal to revoke our mailing rights had come directly from Attorney General Francis Biddle. He had also initiated the Justice Department prosecution in the Minneapolis case.

The post office offered evidence as to why the *Militant* should not have its mailing rights.

The evidence consisted of twenty-seven quotations from issues of the paper.

For instance:

- "When we state that this is an imperialist war, it follows that we cannot possibly support the administration in its war effort."

- "When the bosses demand that the workers sacrifice everything, including life itself, for the war, they themselves have but one aim—to safeguard and increase their profits . . ."

- "The fixing of wages . . . is intended to prevent earnings from rising with costs. In this way Roosevelt proposes to place the entire burden of the war on the backs of the working class."

The *Militant* was represented at the postal hearing by attorney Albert Goldman, one of the defendants in the Minneapolis trial.

Appearing with him was Osmond K. Frankel, then general counsel to the American Civil Liberties Union.

Our mailing rights were revoked.

We continued to publish and we continued to point to the hypocrisy of a government that talked of a war for freedom throughout the world, while it denied the freedom to dissenting views at home.

Again, individuals, organizations, and publications protested. A year later, the *Militant* won back its mailing rights and has retained them to this day.

Breitman offered an estimate of the role of revolutionary socialists in World War II.

"You can look back and see things



World War II miners refused to accept wartime wage freeze, and in face of enormous pressure conducted strikes for better wages and conditions.

...steel haulers' strike

Continued from back page

and insurance. Under the gun of inflation, steel haulers are forced to drive with dangerous overloads or under hazardous conditions just to make enough to get by.

"The only way anyone can make it is by working 80, 90, 100 hours a week," a FASH officer told the *New York Times*.

The government classifies the owner-operators as "small businessmen." Too "small" to haul directly for the shippers—that would deny the carriers their rip-off. But, on the other hand, "big" enough to be denied their right to engage in collective bargaining under anti-trust laws.

Steel haulers can be prosecuted for meeting to discuss their rates and working conditions. The Pittsburgh

Further reading on—

Labor history

and its lessons for today

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp., paper \$6.95

Books by Farrell Dobbs:
Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., paper \$3.95
Teamster Power 255 pp., paper \$4.45

Teamster Politics 256 pp., paper \$4.45

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

strike-breaking injunction is being sought under these anti-trust statutes.

The National Labor Relations Board refuses to recognize the steel haulers as employees. It has consistently denied their request for democratic elections to choose their own bargaining agent—whether FASH, Teamsters, or some other alternative.

The Teamster bureaucracy has helped tighten the screws on steel haulers by collaborating with the government and trucking bosses to drive down their living standards. Instead of fighting to defend the owner-operators—and welcoming them into the union as full and equal members—the bureaucrats have sold out their interests time and again. The steel haulers have been especially victimized by the Teamsters' notorious lack of union democracy.

For instance, in 1970 a FASH-led strike won the right of Teamster steel haulers to vote on their contract—the Iron, Steel and Special Commodities supplement to the Master Freight Agreement. But in 1976, Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons filed suit with the carriers to rescind that right. He then proceeded to sign a contract cutting the percentage steel haulers receive for their loads.

The government and bosses are grateful for Fitzsimmons's help in keeping the nation's truckers divided. Today Washington, the employers, and union misleaders all share an interest in falsely portraying the FASH strike as a violent onslaught against the Teamsters union.

The FBI has been called in to inves-

tigate FASH-inspired "highway violence" at Fitzsimmons's request, while the steel companies seek their injunction on the same slanderous grounds. All these company-government crocodiles tears over protecting the Teamsters is a bit hard to take as they gear up for their attack on the union in its upcoming master freight negotiations.

The truth is that the striking steel haulers are the most obvious allies of Teamster drivers. They share the same

'Militant' rally for N.Y., N.J. to hear Barnes

Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will be the featured speaker at a December 3 New York/northern New Jersey rally celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the *Militant*.

It will be one of a series of celebration events held throughout the country.

In addition to Barnes, the New York/northern New Jersey program will feature Willie Mae Reid, Parvin Najafi, and Nancy Stultz.

Reid was the 1976 vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Najafi, an Iranian socialist, has been writing on the struggle in her country for the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

Guest speaker Nancy Stultz is coordinator of the New Jersey National Organization for Women.

The Sunday afternoon event will be held at 2:30 at the Robeson Center of Rutgers University at Central Avenue and High Street in Newark.

The program will be followed by a cocktail party. The contribution is three dollars for the afternoon.

More information can be obtained by calling (212) 982-8214 or (201) 643-3341.

For information on *Militant* celebrations in other areas, see page 24.

we could have done differently," he observed. "But with the resources we had—which in terms of people and money were very few—and considering how isolated we were politically, I think we did quite well.

"We preserved and strengthened the *Militant's* tradition of telling the truth, whether or not it was popular.

"It's the only paper in the country that opposed American imperialism in World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War."

enemies and the same aims—an end to the erosion of their living standards; shorter working hours and safe working conditions; the right to a say over and vote on their contract. These are the very demands Teamsters are raising as the March 31 expiration date approaches for the national contract.

The steel haulers have fired the first round in the truckers' battle. They deserve the support of the Teamsters union and the entire labor movement.

Interview with FASH leader

By Mark Severs

GARY, Ind.—Paul Deitch is a founding member of the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers, its current national treasurer, and head of its Wisconsin chapter.

Before I interviewed him, he wanted me to answer one question. "What position did you take in Ed Sadlowski's campaign for the presidency of the United Steelworkers?" he asked. (Sadlowski ran at the head of the militant Fight Back slate in 1977.) I answered that members of the Socialist Workers Party supported Sadlowski's challenge.

"That's good enough for me," he said, explaining that many FASH members in this area backed the steelworkers' fight for union democracy.

According to Deitch, steel haulers see their strike today in the same context. By standing up to the corrupt Teamster bureaucrats in defense of their rights, the steel haulers are "setting an example for all labor to fight for their rights," he

explained.

Despite the lies pushed by Fitzsimmons and played up by the press, FASH is not anti-Teamster. "Our strike will inspire Teamsters fighting for democratic rights within the union," Deitch told me. He added that FASH opposes any violence directed against Teamster members.

Nor is FASH antiunion. Its supporters want their own steel haulers union. As the Fraternal Organization of Special Haulers, FASH bargains as a union with nine companies. Deitch cited an Interstate Commerce Commission study showing the tremendous turnover of independent truckers due to increased financial pressures—90 percent every ten years. He argued that this trend will only be reversed when independents enjoy real union protection.

FASH believes it is in for a long strike. But Deitch's spirits are high. "There's a conspiracy to play down the effect of the strike," he said. "But we know we're going to win."

Socialists target of right-wing attacks

Kentucky labor urged to protest violence

By Debby Tarnopol

LOUISVILLE—The Socialist Workers Party has issued an appeal to the Kentucky labor movement asking for support in halting a campaign of violence against SWP member and trade unionist Jim Burfeind and against the SWP.

The letter has been sent to unions in the Louisville area and will be distributed by socialists at plant gates to their co-workers and on the job.

Burfeind, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 2409 at the huge General Electric plant here, was the SWP candidate for Congress in the recent election.

On November 4, Burfeind was preparing to give a speech at a pre-election campaign rally. Suddenly a CS gas grenade was hurled into the room.

Burfeind, a former GI, recognized the danger and threw the grenade into the street just as it began to release gas.

Had the grenade exploded in the confined area of the campaign headquarters, serious injuries and even death from suffocation could have resulted.

A few weeks earlier, SWP campaign supporters had distributed thousands of campaign platforms at Burfeind's plant. While he was on his lunch break

at his workbench that evening, two gallons of oil were dumped on him from two stories up.

In an ominous new development, Burfeind learned two weeks after the CS gas attack of a planned assault on him by right-wingers at work aimed at crippling or blinding him. According to the information he received, the plans were not carried out because of opposition from some other right-wing employees at the plant.

"All unionists have a stake in fighting against any infringement on the democratic rights of one of the labor movement's members," declares the SWP's labor appeal. "In the union movement, the slogan, 'An injury to one is an injury to all' is a principle which has been crucial to building the unions."

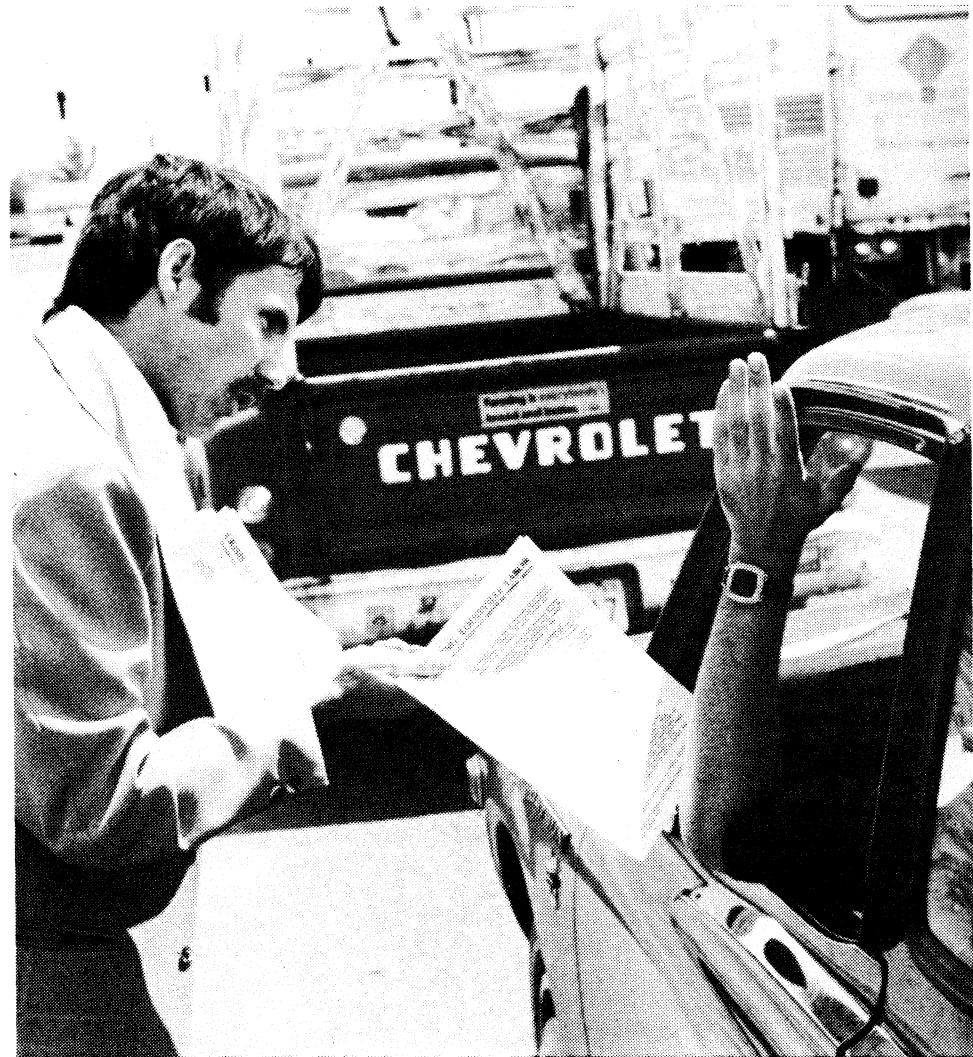
The letter explains that the new violence comes in the context of continuing attacks on the standard of living and democratic rights of working people by the government and the employers.

As a candidate, Burfeind was an outspoken defender of working people. He stood up for his own union when it struck GE. He campaigned vigorously on behalf of the coal miners when they came under the combined assault of the coal operators and Carter's Taft-Hartley union busting. And he spoke out on other issues crucial to the labor movement, such as school desegregation and the Equal Rights Amendment.

The government-employer attacks on the union movement "give encouragement to the small minority of violent right-wingers to carry out attacks like the ones directed against Burfeind and the SWP," the labor appeal says.

"Big companies like GE are glad when right-wingers attack outspoken unionists, socialists, Blacks, and women. They know that a divided work force is easier to control. They know that a united working class in Louisville could turn back the company and government attacks and win higher wages and better working conditions.

"The bosses know that if workers have the democratic right to discussion without threat of physical attacks, the



Militant/Charlie Rosenberg

Machinist Jim Burfeind campaigning at General Electric plant in Louisville

Cops stall on investigation

LOUISVILLE—Two witnesses to the November 4 gas attack on the SWP headquarters here have told police they believe they recognized the attackers from a photograph, but ten days later the cops had still done nothing to follow up the lead. The two said they spotted the person in a newspaper picture of an antibusing demonstration.

The SWP has called on all opponents of right-wing violence to join in demanding a vigorous investigation and an end to the police stalling.

—D.T.

unions will grow stronger and fight back harder," the appeal declares.

A protest against the violence has already been passed by Burfeind's own union lodge. The IAM local wrote to the mayor and chief of police "condemn[ing] the use of violence" against Burfeind. While noting that the union supported neither Burfeind's candidacy nor the SWP, the motion said, "We encourage you to take any appropriate steps to apprehend those responsible. Threats to anyone's civil liberties are a threat to everyone's civil liberties."

Protests have also come from five

members of the board of aldermen, two members of the board of education, and dozens of figures from the University of Louisville, civic groups, and Black groups.

Right-wing and racist violence is not new here. Over the past three years, there have been at least twenty attacks on Black families living in predominantly white neighborhoods. In the summer of 1977, the Ku Klux Klan broke up three public meetings.

The labor appeal asks unions and union members to add their names to the growing opposition to right-wing violence.

Black socialist was human rights activist

Salt Lake meeting commemorates Tony Adams

By Katherine Sojourner

SALT LAKE CITY—A memorial meeting was held at the Militant Bookstore here November 13 in tribute to Tony Adams. Adams, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, died during the weekend of November 3-5. Comrades, friends, co-workers, and members of his family attended the meeting.

The life of Tony Adams was marked by his dedication to the struggle for social change.

He was a leader of the Salt Lake Human Rights Coalition, which defended the human and civil rights of gay people. He was an active member of the Salt Lake branch of the NAACP; a leader of the

struggle at the University of Utah for divestment of stocks from companies operating in South Africa; a member of the Amalgamated Transit Workers Union, Local 382; and a campaign worker for Bill Hoyle, SWP candidate for Congress in Utah's 2nd C.D.

"Tony was a lov-

ing and compassionate person who always took the time to explain his views to people, even if they did not agree with everything he stood for," Barry Barlow told the meeting. Barlow is a gay activist and member of the Metropolitan Community Church. "He fought for what he believed in, and his life is an example to us all."

Leon Brown, a leader of the Utah Committee for University Divestment, explained that Adams "was always ready to help. Tony would make up fact sheets and explain the divestment movement to students. He was an initial founder of the university divestment committee, and in all our activities, we will try to follow his example."

James Dooley, president of the Salt Lake NAACP, explained that Adams was a tireless worker. He had actively participated with the NAACP and the American Civil Liberties Union last spring in opposing the racist *Bakke* decision. Adams and Dooley were keynote speakers at a weekend of anti-*Bakke* activities in April.

Clemens Bak, Salt Lake SWP organizer, spoke of Tony's contributions toward a socialist future: "Tony was killed in an apparent robbery attempt. This society of wars and injustice spawns this form of violence. We believe, as Tony did, that a socialist society, based not on degradation of humanity, but on the uplifting of human values, will eliminate the

kind of senseless brutality that has taken a dear friend and brother.

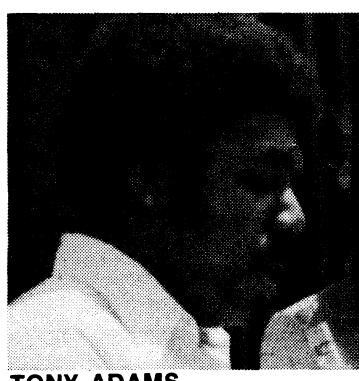
"People here tonight are not all socialists," Bak continued. "We come from different movements, and sometimes different points of view. But Tony's life, his interests, his energies, his commitments coincided with each one of us in some way."

"The Socialist Workers Party believes that the best tribute to Tony Adams is for each of us to continue to struggle for the liberation of women, gays, Blacks, Chicanos, and all working people. That will be the finest tribute we can pay."

Ricardo Sánchez, professor of Chicano Studies at the University of Utah, also spoke. Sánchez worked with Adams during activities around defense of undocumented workers. "In a sense, we are celebrating this young man's life," Sánchez said, "because his contributions to humanity were immense."

Sánchez, who is a poet, ended the memorial meeting with a poem dedicated to Tony Adams. It read in part:

"Movements are created by dedicated beings unaframed to actualize liberating processes, and you, carnal, are one of those moving beings who in having lived dared to go beyond fear and resignation, in so doing you created much that we now realize, adios hermano, adios . . ."



TONY ADAMS

S.F. gay rights supporters cheer Briggs defeat

By Ann Menasche

SAN FRANCISCO—Thousands of gay rights supporters attended a victory rally here November 7 as the antigay Briggs initiative went down to overwhelming defeat.

Proposition 6, which would have allowed school boards to fire or refuse to hire employees who advocate gay rights, was turned down by 59 percent of the state's voters. Here in San Francisco, the margin was 75 percent to 25 percent.

"We feel the defeat of Proposition 6 is a victory for the public as well as teachers," Ed Foglia, president of the 257,000-member California Teachers Association, told the crowd.

David Goodstein, publisher of the gay paper the *Advocate*, said, "Six months ago, it looked like teachers and gay people would lose this election. . . . This is a major turning point in our centuries-old struggle."

Other speakers included Leonard Matlovich, San Francisco Mayor George Moscone, board of education member Jule Johnson, gay teacher Larry Berner, and representatives from the anti-Proposition 6 groups in the Bay Area.

On the Saturday before election day, November 4, more than 3,000 gay rights supporters attended a spirited "Rally for Human Justice" at San Francisco's civic center.

"I'm here on behalf of 170,000 members of the Machinists union," said Justin Oscrow, general vice-president of the International Association of Machinists. "The Machinists union will speak out against anyone who will injure the freedom and human dignity of anyone else."

"Proposition 6," declared Rita Hodkins, California director of the National Education Association, "is a violation of the human rights of all teachers, all persons in the state of



Unionists march against Briggs initiative in San Francisco's 1978 Christopher Street demonstration

Militant/Howard Petrick

California, and perhaps all persons in the United States. Should it pass, I am vulnerable for dismissal for speaking to you today."

Jimmy Herman, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, was cheered when he said, "This has got to be more than a movement that defends the rights of teachers. It has to be an act of solidarity of all people who believe in civil liberties. My union stands with you as partners in struggle."

Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for San Francisco Board of Education, declared, "We're going to chase the Briggses and the [Anita] Bryants out of California. And we're going to 'save our children' by saving child care."

Dolores Huerta, from the United Farm Workers union, led the rally participants in a chant of "*Viva la causa!*"

The rally also heard statements of

support from other labor, feminist, and church leaders.

The event was sponsored by the Bay Area Committee Against the Briggs Initiative and had the endorsement of such organizations as the Mexican American Political Association, California Federation of Teachers, San Francisco Labor Council, National Organization for Women, American Civil Liberties Union, and the Democratic and Republican parties' central committees.

International actions set for abortion rights

By Matilde Zimmermann

Women from more than a dozen countries have called for an International Day of Action for abortion rights March 31, 1979.

The appeal, issued September 23 at a Brussels conference of the International Campaign for the Right to Abortion, proposes demonstrations in support of the right to abortion and contraception and against all forced sterilization.

These demands are international in scope, the call for the action explains:

"Nowhere in the world are women guaranteed the absolute right to control their fertility, the absolute right to decide whether they want children, and if so, under what conditions."

"Millions of women incur mutilation

and death because their right to contraception and their right to legal abortion under safe conditions are denied by civil law and by the church."

The difficulties women face in obtaining abortions vary greatly from one country to another. In some places the operation is completely illegal, and women are forced to choose between dangerous back-alley abortions and expensive trips out of the country. Other countries tolerate abortion in practice, but still hold over women's heads the fact that it is illegal. Others have loosened their anti-abortion laws, while retaining various restrictions such as time limitations or consent requirements. Sometimes legal abortions are too expensive to be a real alternative for poor women when gov-

ernment subsidies are not available.

There are an alarming number of countries where the right to abortion is under attack or has already been sharply curtailed. These include Israel, the United States, New Zealand, Romania, and Hungary.

Forced sterilization is another way women are denied the right to control their own reproductive lives. This abuse is especially common in the colonial and semicolonial world, and among women of the oppressed nationalities in countries such as the United States.

A powerful worldwide movement is needed, says the call to action, in order to win the right to choose for women everywhere.

"The struggle for the right to safe,

legal abortion has been led by the women's liberation movement. But this struggle concerns all movements and individuals who are fighting for democratic rights and social justice. Women's rights to control their bodies, to contraception and abortion, and to refuse forced sterilization have become international questions that have called forth debates and confrontations around the world.

"The forces opposed to women's right to choose are powerful. They include governments, churches, the medical profession, political parties, and antiabortion groups that force women to suffer and die in the name of morality. The result of the struggle to defeat these forces will have an impact on all battles for elementary human rights."

...State Dep't on Marroquin

Continued from back page

guerrillaism, at the same time that he and other CER members were accused of killing a librarian. The opinion also states that Marroquin didn't quit the CER until January 1974—just months before he left Mexico.

Their source for this startling information: Héctor Marroquin himself, according to the State Department.

But Marroquin said no such thing. In a "preliminary interview" before an INS official that took place over a year ago (and is the sole evidence on which the State Department based its opinion) Marroquin testified that he quit the CER in August 1973. This was almost six months before the murder of the librarian. In fact, according to the

transcript of the interview, he repeated this fact over and over again, because the hearing officer couldn't seem to get the dates straight.

The only proof the State Department has that Marroquin is guilty of "non-political" crimes is Marroquin's testimony that the Mexican cops accused him of such crimes. The ruling ignores Marroquin's statement that the Mexican authorities framed him up in order to stifle his political activities.

Like INS Director Leonel Castillo, who said he "doubted" there was repression in Mexico, State Department officials operate in a never-never land where they hear no evil, speak no evil, and see no evil about repression in Mexico.

"The State Department's ruling would be laughable," said Margaret Winter, Marroquin's attorney, "if it didn't have such serious implications for Marroquin's asylum request."

"It's disgraceful that the INS waited until this late date to send us this ruling that they've had for almost six months now. By ruling without even a look at the evidence, the State Department has shown a shocking lack of concern for human rights, or even elementary justice."

"I urge people to protest this violation of Héctor Marroquin's rights—and the rights of all refugees—and help put the State Department and Carter on the spot for their stubborn refusal to admit that injustice exists in Mexico."

MY STORY

By Héctor Marroquín

The story of a twenty-four-year-old student rebel, union activist, undocumented worker, and socialist forced to flee his homeland to escape political repression. 16 pages, 50¢. 35¢ each on orders of ten or more.

Available from: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, P.O. Box 843 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

World Outlook

News, analysis, and discussion of international political events

Iranian people enter the road to revolution



Iranian masses have become conscious of strength of their numbers and braved machine guns of shah's troops to demand end to dictatorship.

By Javad Sadeeg and Azar Tabari

Javad Sadeeg and Azar Tabari are leading members, respectively, of the Sattar League (the sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Iran) and of the Organization of Supporters of the Fourth International in the Near East and Europe. At present, the two groups are in the process of fusion to form a single section of the Fourth International in Iran.

No longer willing to endure the miserable and degrading conditions of life under capitalism imposed upon them by the shah's despotic regime, the oppressed masses of Iran have entered the revolutionary road.

After a quarter-century of intense and murderous repression, the masses have become conscious of the strength of their numbers and, while loudly calling for the overthrow of the shah, have heroically faced the machine guns of the royal troops. The traditional methods of wholesale massacre of peaceful demonstrators have not been effective in suppressing the movement, but on the contrary have drawn new layers of the population into political motion.

Within the last month a massive wave of strikes has engulfed the entire country. The working class is waging an economic battle for survival. In the heat of the class battles these strikes are assuming an increasingly political character. Demands of the striking workers include freedom for all political prisoners and an end to military rule. The proletariat is beginning to champion the democratic aspirations of all the oppressed, and to move toward solution of the crisis imposed on Iranian society by the shah's capitalist rule.

The bourgeoisie is scared and is engineering a

massive flight of its capital—now reportedly to the tune of more than \$50 million a day!—in anticipation of its worst fears. The majority of the royal court have left the country and are in hiding in such places as Switzerland.

The degree of isolation of the monarchy is such that bourgeois politicians no longer dare to be identified with it. It finds no alternative but to resort, more and more, to military rule and imperialist support. This is bringing its downfall closer.

A prerevolutionary situation

The present situation is prerevolutionary with insurrectionary tendencies. Under the influence of the mass movement the army is becoming unreliable; there is increasing fraternization with the people. In open defiance of martial law demonstrations have continued. The soldiers have often looked the other way; at times they have shown solidarity with the people. In some cities and towns—most notably in Amol, northeast of Tehran—the masses have taken over control of the government for periods of time. The longer the shah hangs on to his cracking throne, the deeper becomes the participation of the working class in the revolutionary upsurge, and the graver becomes the crisis of the ruling class.

This is the first time in a quarter-century—since the 1953 CIA-engineered coup that brought the shah back to power and signaled the defeat of the second Iranian revolution—that such a situation has arisen in the country. Also, this is the first time since 1946—when the autonomous governments of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan collapsed, owing to Stalinist betrayals—that deepgoing revolutionary sentiment is emerging within the oppressed nationalities in Iran. This is particularly true of the Azerbaijanis, Baluchis, and Kurds. Other allies of the proletariat—the masses of peasants, the pettybour-

geoisie, women, the youth, and soldiers—are involved in the movement to one degree or other.

The convergence of the various components of the revolution in Iran gives it a powerful dynamic affecting the entire region. Development of the revolution in Iran will have a strong impact on the Arab revolution, the Afghan revolution, the revolution in the Indian subcontinent, and the political revolution in the USSR. It will deal a crushing blow to imperialism in the entire Middle East, and will put the socialist overturn on the agenda.

The present showdown between the shah's regime and the masses is the culmination of a series of massive struggles that have taken place during this year.

Until this year the movement against the shah had been made up mostly of students and intellectuals. This was highlighted in early 1977 with the revival of the Writers Association, which called for an end to censorship as its primary demand.

The Writers Association began to grow, finding many new adherents. It held poetry readings that implicitly opposed the shah's dictatorial rule and attracted thousands of listeners. The students came to the defense of the writers when the government tried to victimize them. The increased tempo of student and intellectual activities reflected the intensification of the class struggle as a whole.

Then came the Qum massacre of January 9, 1978, where a massive demonstration in the religious city was suppressed in blood. The Islamic religious leaders called for a national day of observance on the traditional fortieth day of mourning for the martyrs.

The uprising in Tabriz

On that day, February 18, the police in Tabriz attempted to prevent crowds from gathering. In the course of a confrontation, a youth was shot point-blank as the people watched. The body of the slain youth was carried through the streets, leading to a massive explosion of anger by the population. The outraged masses took control of the streets.

For several hours the masses remained in control. The slogan "Death to the King!" was voiced for the first time by the indignant masses, comprised of workers, the youth, women, and peasants who came from the outskirts of the city. In the course of the Tabriz uprising, only those institutions and shops that were identified as being pro-shah were attacked. No educational institution was damaged, but not a single branch of the shah's Rastakhiz Party was left standing.

The Tabriz garrison refused to carry out a sustained attack upon the demonstrators, forcing the government to deploy troops from other parts of the country. Airborne troops machine-gunned protesters from Bell helicopters. Four hundred SAVAK agents were dispatched from the capital. All travelers to and from Tabriz had to produce identity cards. Oppositionists estimate that the shah's troops massacred at least 500 people, while the Tehran daily *Kayhan* reported at least 645 arrests.

The Tabriz action showed the unreliability of imperialist rule's main base of support—the army itself. It showed that the soldiers—700,000 strong, equipped with the latest weapons, and primarily composed of young draftees—have no fundamental stake in defending the shah's regime. This fact—observed by commentators in the imperialist press—was absorbed by the masses, who consciously sought to fraternize with the troops during the demonstrations of September 4 and 7.

News of the February uprising in Tabriz spread rapidly and became a source of inspiration for the oppressed throughout the country. Waves of demonstrations erupted in almost all cities and towns and in some villages, while at the same time the demonstrators' demands became more and more political. These geographically expanding mass actions kept on erupting in forty-day cycles. In May, the shah took personal command of his troops in Tehran, where demonstrators took to the streets shouting "Down with the shah!"

Following the May demonstrations, the religious leaders in Iran refrained from any further calls to action and sought to prevent the movement from taking to the streets. However, a fresh series of actions began to spring up without their official call.

On June 8, 10,000 people in the Kurdish city of Mahabad attended the funeral of Aziz Yousefi, a Kurdish nationalist who had spent the last twenty-five years of his life in the shah's jails. These demonstrators raised the slogans of "Free Kurdistan" and "Kurdistan or death!" and listened to

Continued on next page

...the unfolding revolution

Continued from preceding page

militant speeches in Kurdish. They also carried the picture of Mohammed Ghazi, the martyred leader of the 1946 autonomous Mahabad Republic.

In the last weeks of July, antigovernment demonstrations took place in at least twenty cities. And again, on August 10, a new round of protests broke out embracing the entire country. In the industrial city of Isfahan, where the largest of these protests took place, barricades were erected for the first time. The government put the city under martial law. Interestingly enough, the military governor of Isfahan noted that the leadership of the demonstrations was passing from the hands of the religious leaders into the hands of militant youths—high school and university students. Shiraz was among other major cities where, following the August 10 demonstrations, the authorities threatened to impose martial law.

Theater fire in Abadan

It was after the declaration of martial law in Isfahan and the Shiraz action that the theater fire occurred in Abadan. The August 19 arson incident, in which an estimated 600 people were burned to death in a movie theater in a working-class district, triggered another wave of mass outrage against the regime.

The shah sought to use this incident to create a witch-hunt atmosphere in which a crackdown could be launched to stifle the mass movement. But his plan backfired. In Abadan itself, widespread anti-shah sentiment surfaced in the August 26 mourning ceremonies for the victims. This sentiment spread immediately to Qum where, according to *Kayhan*, "the largest demonstrations ever" were held. Other demonstrations blaming the shah for the fire occurred in many cities across Iran. For the shah's regime the danger signals were loud and clear. Rising mass anger, coupled with the inability of the army and police to quell the masses, could lead to the loss of the throne.

Thus, the monarchy ordered a hasty retreat, biding its time for another attack. On August 27, Jamshid Amouzegar, the prime minister, resigned, and Jaafar Sharif-Emami, another court stooge, took his place. As a loyal servant of the shah and one of the main imperialist pawns in Iran, Sharif-Emami had served as president of the Senate for the past thirteen years.

Sharif-Emami formed what he called "a government of national reconciliation." Declaring that he wanted to "bring peace between the different classes of Iranian society," he announced his desire to negotiate with the political and religious leaders of the opposition. Among the concessions he made to religious leaders were the decree to change the "imperial calendar" back to the original Islamic calendar and the abolition of the token ministry of women's affairs.

The change in the cabinet was intended to help stem the tide of mass mobilization. But instead of subsiding, the mass upsurge mounted even higher. Dozens of demonstrations took place each day in nearly every city. At the same time, strikes began to occur, demanding higher wages, better working conditions, housing, and longer vacations.

March of 1 million in Tehran

The largest demonstrations in the history of Iran, and perhaps the Middle East, took place on September 4, involving 3 million to 4 million people. Major actions on that day occurred in Shiraz (150,000), Mashed (300,000), Yazd (100,000), Qum (100,000), Ahwaz (150,000) and Tehran (500,000). In Tabriz, the army locked the mosques to prevent demonstrators from assembling. However, tens of thousands participated in a protest action outside Tabriz and in other smaller Azerbaijani cities.

Three days later, on September 7, more than 1 million people marched in Tehran alone, shouting "Death to the King!" The echo of this slogan throughout the country declared the verdict of the masses concerning the monarchy. On both September 4 and 7, large-scale fraternization between the demonstrators and soldiers took place. "Brother soldier, why do you kill your brother," cried the



Demonstrators toppling statue of shah in Tehran. Even bourgeois politicians no longer dare to be identified with monarchy.

masses as they showered the troops with flowers.

Mass demonstrations were to have continued on Friday, September 8. On the morning of that day, the shah hurriedly declared martial law in Tehran and eleven other cities. In Tehran, freshly arrived troops of the Royal Guard machine-gunned the youthful demonstrators. Thousands more were added to the heroic martyrs of the revolution. But the massacre of September 8 did not halt the momentum of the mass movement. Demonstrations, especially in cities not under the martial law, continued to occur. Furthermore, the wave of strikes that had begun in August began to gather momentum after martial law was declared.

On September 23, workers in the vital oil industry in the south, 35,000 strong, went on strike demanding wage increases. Soon thereafter the entire country became engulfed by strikes, including by government employees—all illegal! By October 10, the strike wave included 30,000 steelworkers in the suburbs of Isfahan, rail workers, copper miners, civil servants, teachers, bank workers, and 7,000 agricultural laborers in the southern province of Khuzistan.

The strikers' demands have been primarily economic, but political demands such as an end to martial law and freedom of all political prisoners are now being raised as well. The workers are also fighting to organize independent trade unions of their own.

The regime's promise of wage increases of 50% or more has sometimes not satisfied the workers, in part because of their fear of galloping inflation but also because the entire strike wave is taking place within a politically mobilized population, where solutions are seen as going beyond the sphere of economic demands.

The economic crisis of imperialism is catching up with Iran. The global offensive against working people is hitting the masses, with the most oppressed layers bearing the brunt of the offensive.

The explosiveness of the present situation and the intensity of the contradictions are due to the peculiar circumstance of increasing oil revenues, which had enabled the regime to hold off the crisis for some time.

Inflation is at its highest point since the Second World War. Some reports put it as high as 50%, and it is increasing rapidly. The price of housing escalated almost 75% in one year. Some 60% to 70% of a worker's wages go for housing. Thus, it is not surprising that the first major mass confrontation with the government, which took place in mid-1977 in the outlying area around south Tehran, was around the issue of housing.

The government brought in bulldozers to demolish huts that had been built "illegally" overnight.

Angry people resisted the government's wrecking operations. The police opened fire and some people were killed, but massive resistance finally forced the regime to back down. Since then, similar scenes have been repeated several times.

The middle class finds itself squeezed by the housing problem as well. About 50% of the income of a middle-class family goes for rent. A modest two-room apartment in Tehran costs about \$1,000 a month. Generally, the prices in the cities in Iran are on the same level as those in the West.

As inflation continued to rise, the regime took measures to slow down the economy. Ostensibly, this was to curb inflation, which it did not. In fact, it led to cutbacks and unemployment. Earlier this year, the minister of economic affairs and finance declared that "all projects that could be put off without harming the national economy have been put off." The London *Economist* reported September 16 that, "In spite of the shah's huge development plans, economic growth has now come to a virtual standstill."

Stagflation has particularly affected the construction industry, where a large portion of the work force had been made up of poor peasants who had been driven off the land because of the agricultural crisis. The regime has not issued any figures on unemployment, but several months ago the *Tehran Economist* gave an example of hidden unemployment in Tehran: "At this time, there are 700,000 healthy but idle people who busy themselves by selling lottery tickets, watching cars, or peddling . . ."

For those who have jobs, the situation is not much better. Officially, the minimum wage is \$3 a day, but many unskilled workers receive even less. For skilled workers, the situation is not all that much better. The striking workers at the auto assembly plant in Tabriz—one of the largest such industrial plants in the country—declared in early September that they receive less than \$200 per month. And 2,000 striking workers at Ray Textiles wrote in an October 21 open letter to the government that their salaries are less than \$7.50 per day.

An additional edge of the anti-working-class offensive has been the sharp increase in taxation. This year, taxes are expected to go up by 146%, comprising some 22% of total government income. More than half this sum comes from indirect taxation, under which the poverty-stricken masses pay a greater proportion.

Most of the burden of direct taxation also falls upon the shoulders of the working people. The rich manage to avoid paying taxes through graft and bribes, common at every level of the government. The regime openly admits this inequity. According to the government's own statistics, only one-quarter

in Iran

of the capitalist companies have ever paid taxes.

As a measure to stop the falling rate of profit, the capitalist class, in coordination with the regime, has gone on a speedup campaign. Workers also complain of forced unpaid labor, utilized by the bosses as a form of punishment.

Peasants driven off the land

The situation in the countryside is much worse than in the cities. Agriculture is in disarray. On the average, the rural population earns one-seventh the income of the urban population. The shah's "land reform" left one-third of the peasantry with no land. Of the landowning peasants, 90% cultivate lands where the yield is actually below the level of subsistence. Optimistic reports put the yearly average income per landless peasant family at \$450 and twice that for peasants with land. Nearly half the arable land is owned by absentee landlords.

The state has replaced the rule of the landlords in the village. The city banks and merchants have replaced the landlords as creditors. On the other hand, the government-run cooperatives are underfinanced and incompetent. Whatever government aid that was available for agriculture—only 13% of the budget of the Fifth Development Plan—went to the very large, mechanized agribusiness and the rich farmers, or, in exchange for graft, to city-dwelling absentee landowners.

The agribusiness complexes were set up through the forceful evacuation of peasants from their lands and villages. These farms were devoted to the production of export items, such as cotton. Their output of foodstuffs for domestic consumption is insignificant. Receiving no aid from the state, the peasants are forced to rely on usurers and loan sharks, who charge interest as high as 100%. Impoverishment of the peasantry has become a general feature of Iran's villages.

Because of the stagnation of agriculture and the apparent boom of the urban areas following the rise in oil income in 1973, the peasants were drawn to the cities. Joining the army of the unskilled urban proletariat, they moved back and forth from city to city and sometimes back to the countryside, depending on the job situation. The net population flow from the village to the city averaged 500,000 a year. Today, reports from different parts of the country tell of whole villages completely abandoned, while in other areas the population consists mainly of women, children, and the very old.

Production of wheat, barley, beet sugar, cheese, butter, and meat have declined. Formerly self-sufficient Iran today must import 60% of its food. Last year, agricultural imports rose by 22%, but the rise in wheat and flour imports was 97%, and in meat and livestock 77%. Between 10% and 20% of all oil revenue goes for food imports. Additionally, the government's annual food subsidies amount to \$2 billion. Imports have softened the impact of scarcity, and subsidies have curbed the astronomical rise in basic food prices. Nevertheless, agriculture is in ruins.

Allies of working class

The massive proletarian struggle against economic annihilation is taking place within a larger movement of the oppressed. The allies of the proletariat—the peasants, the oppressed nationalities, women, youth, artisans and shopkeepers, and soldiers—to one degree or another are involved in this movement.

In the course of this year's upsurge, these allies of the working class have begun to come forward in their own independent contingents. Insofar as the allies of the working class overlap and make up the massive core of the proletariat and poor peasantry, they have been the worst hit economically. And in the current struggle they have played, to a great extent, the role of the movement's social vanguard. They have constituted the most militant sections of the struggle. Thus, it was not accidental that the qualitative upsurge in the mass movement started with the explosion of Tabriz in the heart of the Azerbaijani oppressed nationality.

In the subsequent wave of demonstrations before the September 8 massacre, the uprooted peasantry who have joined the ranks of the city proletariat as



Only brute force is keeping shah on his throne. Masses have appealed to troops with slogans such as 'Brother soldier, why do you kill your brother?'

unskilled workers played a central role.

It was on the basis of the struggles of these oppressed layers that a powerful wave of strikes of the industrial proletariat emerged and led to the strikes by other workers, including the national strike of teachers and those of the civil servants.

For the first time a certain link has been established between the proletariat in the cities and the peasants—through the active participation of the uprooted peasantry in the urban struggles.

Under the impact of the working-class struggles, the peasants have held demonstrations and marches, and at times they have marched to nearby towns. The majority of such actions so far have occurred in Kurdistan and have involved thousands of peasants.

The peasant demands have centered around land, roads, and water. (They are also protesting the destruction of the traditional Qanat system of irrigation through the unplanned introduction of artesian wells by the rich.) Other peasant demands include abolishing the installments they have to pay as rent for working on their own land; abolishing the agricultural shareholding enterprises imposed upon them by the government; and the return of their land.

A new mood of political awareness is beginning to develop among the peasant masses. For example, the peasants in the village of Halab and those who had come from surrounding villages held a memorial on October 18 for Ismail Rostami (age twelve), who had been killed earlier in the nearby city of Zanjan while participating in an anti-shah demonstration. To honor the slain youth, the peasants renamed their village after him. Some 600 persons from Zanjan attended the memorial after forcing their way through roadblocks.

On October 20, some 1,500 peasants from Malek Abad marched ten miles toward the town of Arak to protest the imprisonment of thirteen fellow villagers. The gendarmes stopped them on the way. The peasants told reporters that the thirteen had been unjustly accused of setting fire to artesian wells belonging to the city millionaire Hojabr Yazdani. They added that the wells had dried up their Qanats one year ago, causing serious drought.

These are some indications of the forthcoming peasant struggles. In these struggles, as is already evident, the peasants will be looking up to the cities for help. And for the proletariat, the poor peasants constitute the most important class allies.

The link between the city and the village that is being established through these struggles is undermining centuries of peasant isolation.

In regard to the oppressed nationalities, their nationalist sentiments have intensified following the February uprising in Tabriz. There are reports that in some of the Azerbaijani schools, in an open defiance of the regime, the suppressed Azerbaijani Turkish language is being used in place of the official Persian. And, as was mentioned above, in Kurdistan the nationalist sentiment has been expressed more openly in the call for a "Free Kurdish"

tan," indicating the depth of the Kurdish rebellion against national oppression.

There has also been a significant rise in Baluchi national sentiment. In their struggle against the shah's regime Baluchi students have been calling for a "Free Baluchistan." Their struggle is linked with the struggle of Baluchis in the disintegrating Pakistani state. These developments are all the more significant in view of the fact that the Iranian regime has had a consistent policy of brutally suppressing any manifestation of nationalist rebellion.

There is no doubt that with the further development of the mass movement, the struggle of the oppressed nationalities for self-determination—a vital component of the Iranian revolution—will become more and more distinct and assume a massive character.

An outstanding and unprecedented development in the course of the recent upheavals has been the active and massive participation of women. Tens of thousands of women have marched and carried banners in every major city of Iran where anti-shah demonstrations have occurred. Women, organized in separate contingents and covered with their *chadors* [veils], led fraternization with the army troops in Tehran by throwing flowers upon them. Even the official government newspaper, *Rastakhiz*, reported of the pre-September 8 demonstrations: "The most visible thing was the active and massive participation of women shoulder to shoulder with men."

In the present wave of workers' strikes, the demand for child-care centers has been raised both by the coal miners and by the striking teachers.

Women's participation in demonstrations has continued and extended to the countryside. Of special importance has been the participation of female high-school students, whose militancy is becoming well known.

One of the problems that the regime is facing now is the ever-present anti-shah demonstrations by teen-agers and their younger brothers and sisters. The regime's appeal to parents to use their authority in curbing their children has been totally ineffective. Elementary school students make up their own colorful anti-shah rhymes fashioned after their school lessons. One such example is the following: "How many parts has 'Death to the King'?" sings a group of children. "Three parts—'Death to the King,'" respond their classmates.

In general, the overwhelming portion of the movement has consisted of the youth. A total of 60% of the country's population is under twenty years of age and sees no future for itself under this system. Having been influenced by the worldwide youth radicalization, and not having experienced the defeat of the Second Revolution, they have an optimistic outlook as to the outcome of their struggles.

Other allies of the proletariat who have entered
Continued on next page

...revolutionary upsurge in Iran

Continued from preceding page

the movement include the artisans and shopkeepers. They have been among the early victims of inflation and have been made scapegoats for its escalation. Small shopkeepers have been subjected to the shah's periodic "antiprofiteering" shows.

As is becoming more and more evident, enormous forces extending beyond the proletariat can be won over, organized and mobilized in the fight for socialism in Iran.

Winning over the allies of the proletariat is a prerequisite for the success of the coming revolutionary struggles. The working class needs a leadership that can meet the challenge.

Absence of leadership

At the present time, the mass movement in Iran has no visible or recognized leadership. The predominance of religious figures in the pre-September 8 period is a manifestation not of a leadership but just the opposite—the absence of leadership.

Despite the declarations of high Ulema, and despite the propaganda of the imperialist press, Islam or an "Islamic state" is not the goal of the masses. The popularity of certain religious personalities in the movement is ascribable to:

1. The defeat of 1953 and the betrayals by the Stalinists and the bourgeois nationalists.
2. The absence of any political party or leaders who could vocalize the mass discontent.
3. The exile of the most prominent Shi'a leaders and their opposition to the shah.
4. The legality of the mosques, which made them the centers of mass assemblies and agitation against the shah and his regime.
5. The fact that because of their close contact with the peasantry and the urban poor, the mullahs of the lower echelons tended to reflect the sentiments of the oppressed in their own convoluted religious ideology.
6. The traditional ties between the religious hierarchy and the Bazaar.

In addition to the religious opposition, some of the bourgeois-nationalist figures who belonged to Mosadegh's old National Front coalition began to surface. They declared a new coalition of groups. However, as was the case before, the dominant elements within the National Front have been personalities rather than participating parties. There has also developed a vocal opposition of sorts within the shah's handpicked Majlis (parliament).

None of these groups, including the National Front, has played any significant role in organizing or leading the movement. In fact, the National Front leadership has been willing to form a coalition government under the shah—with the blessing of U.S. imperialism. But they have not been able to convince Ayatollah Khomeyni of this move. Khomeyni, a Shi'a leader who has lived in exile since 1963, has adamantly demanded the shah's abdication and is regarded as the foremost symbol of opposition to the shah's rule. For the time being, the National Front leaders have agreed to go along with Khomeyni.

Of the Stalinist currents the Tudeh Party is the strongest. The Maoists are in crisis and almost nonexistent in Iran. The Chinese bureaucracy's support of the shah and Hua's recent visit to Iran have intensified the already deep crisis of the Iranian Maoist tendencies. The Tudeh Party publishes a small paper, *Navid*, inside the country. But its size and influence are insignificant compared with the pre-1953 period. Nevertheless, through this sheet the Tudeh Party is attempting to put together a coalition of all "antidictatorial" forces; prominent among them, the army officers and the Bazaar merchants. The revolutionary youth shun the Tudeh Party because of the record of its past betrayals and also because of its subservience to the Soviet bureaucracy, which so far has unfailingly supported the shah.

The regime's own political apparatus is also in crisis. Under the powerful blows received from the mass movement, the regime wavered and lost its political equilibrium. At present, it is going through the motions of discrediting some of the central figures of the government, such as former long-time Prime Minister Hoveyda and the former SAVAK chief, General Nasiri. They are being charged with corruption and embezzlement. The shah's Rastak-



Shah with members of military government. Shah's political apparatus is in crisis.

hiz Party, which used to be the sole legal party in Iran with a huge apparatus and "millions" in its membership, has been officially dissolved.

Threat of imperialist intervention

Behind the faltering regime and its discredited and corrupt leadership stands world imperialism. The imperialists propped up this regime as a bulwark of the counterrevolution in the region and as the local guardian of its vast oil empire (the region contains 60% to 70% of the world's proven oil reserves). The imperialists do not intend to let the shah fall; or, more importantly, to let the capitalist system be overthrown in Iran. President ("human rights") Carter made this clear when he called the bloody butcher right after the September 8 massacre to assure him of his support.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon has started its preparations for direct intervention in Iran. "Secretary of Defense Harold Brown already has been discussing the possible 'dispatch of appropriate U.S. forces to the scene [the Persian Gulf] in support of friends' and 100,000 U.S. troops are being trained for possible intervention in the Gulf," the *Los Angeles Times* reported August 17. The \$36 billion worth of sophisticated weaponry in the shah's arsenal and the presence of 40,000 American "advisers" in Iran point to the important stakes involved.

Imperialist moves to support the shah and preserve capitalism in Iran have a limited potential. Imperialism itself is also in crisis, including a crisis of leadership. The weakness of imperialism is sensed by the masses, especially in the wake of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam. In Iran this has become an important factor in the radicalization and mobilization of youth.

The struggle of the Iranian masses has an international character, for it faces as one of its main enemies the imperialist bourgeoisie. The central task is to forge a leadership that can lead this struggle to a victorious conclusion.

Tasks of Iranian Trotskyists

With the further development of the revolutionary upsurge, the entire transitional program of the Fourth International and its concrete expression regarding the conditions of Iran becomes applicable. The preparatory work of the Iranian Trotskyists in this field has already created the political basis for building a strong proletarian party—the section of the Fourth International in Iran.

The immediate demands of the proletariat have very rapidly been combined with democratic and transitional demands. In some cases the striking workers, acting as owners, have made decisions on production quotas. For example, the striking oil workers decided to produce just enough oil to meet domestic needs. Such tendencies toward workers' control are accompanied with the demand to open the books.

To wage a successful struggle and bring their social weight into play, combining their strength and their numbers, the workers need their own union. Organizing an independent, democratic, and centralized national trade union is the challenge that faces the proletariat in the weeks and months ahead.

The immediate economic demands of the proletar-

iat have already been combined with political demands, such as those for an end to martial law and freedom of political prisoners. The proletariat has joined demonstrations with the massive demand of the population, "Death to the King!" This expression of the solution of the revolution's belated tasks puts forward the question of governmental rule. While the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are busy putting forward their solutions, the proletariat must advance the solution of its own class in the interest of the majority.

In contrast to the schemes of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, proletarian policy champions the democratic aspirations of the masses. This includes the call for a freely elected Constituent Assembly, to determine the form of the government to replace the shah's murderous regime.

The call for a Constituent Assembly must be tied in with the overthrow of the monarchy, uprooting of imperialist domination, emancipation of the peasantry, establishment of the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination, and the liberation of women. No bourgeois government will ever be willing or able to accomplish such elementary democratic tasks, despite the demagogic phrases of the upcoming bourgeois figures.

For a Workers & Peasants Republic!

In contrast to a bourgeois regime, proletarian policy calls for the establishment of a Workers and Peasants Republic. Only through such a regime will the masses be able to get out of the present impasse imposed upon them by the shah and imperialists and carry out the socialist overturn.

The rapid tempo of the revolutionary developments may lead to the creation of higher forms of class-struggle organs—action committees, and soviet-type bodies or *Anjomans* (assemblies which came into existence in the Constitutional Revolution early in this century).

Tendencies toward self-rule have already become evident in cities like Amol, Sanandaj, and Tabriz, where the people took over control of these cities for some time. In Amol and Sanandaj, the embryos of popular militias came into existence. Traditions of the past two revolutions in Iran can play an exemplary role in reconstructing the revolutionary organs of dual power and their mass-based armed bodies.

At present, the slogan of the Constituent Assembly is the central axis of revolutionary agitation and propaganda. Other concrete and immediate demands, such as an end to military rule and freedom of political prisoners, could also be raised along with the slogan of the Constituent Assembly. Propaganda and agitation around this slogan will make it possible to present the entire transitional program for socialist revolution.

The central missing element in the present prerevolutionary situation is precisely a Bolshevik-type proletarian party that can organize and lead the working class and its allies to overthrow the shah, take power, and lead the socialist revolution. The struggle to forge such a combat party—the section of the Fourth International in the Iranian state—in the heat of class battles is the struggle to which the Iranian Trotskyists have dedicated themselves.

November 1, 1978

In Brief

Quote unquote

"We have applied for funds under one federal program which has money, but didn't get it, and we're told to apply under another section of the law, which fits our case, but there's no money available there."

—Peter Berle, New York State Commissioner of Environmental Conservation, explaining a one-year delay in cleaning toxic chemicals from the Hudson River.

464 ON DEATH ROW

Five women and 459 men in twenty-four states are awaiting execution, according to the American Civil Liberties Union. Eighty percent are in the South, with 117 in Florida, 106 in Texas, and 40 in Alabama. The racist nature of the death penalty is revealed by two startling facts:

- Nearly half of the death-row prisoners in the South are Blacks convicted of killing whites. Not a single white was sentenced to death for killing a Black.

- About 43 percent of all death-row prisoners are Black, double the proportion of Blacks in the general population.

VIETNAM VETS SIT IN

Members of the American Veterans Movement began a sit-in protest November 8 at the Los Angeles offices of Sen. Alan Cranston.

Many of the veterans had participated in a seventeen-day hunger strike over employment and government services for veterans and conditions in veterans' hospitals four years ago. They said nothing had changed since then.

Protest U.S. aid to shah

About 300 Iranian Moslem students, their faces covered by masks reading "Down with the shah," marched in front of the Los Angeles federal building November 14 demanding that the U.S. government stop arming the shah's regime and that the estimated 45,000 U.S. army advisers in Iran be withdrawn.

The students wore masks to protect themselves from victimization by SAVAK, the brutal Iranian secret police.

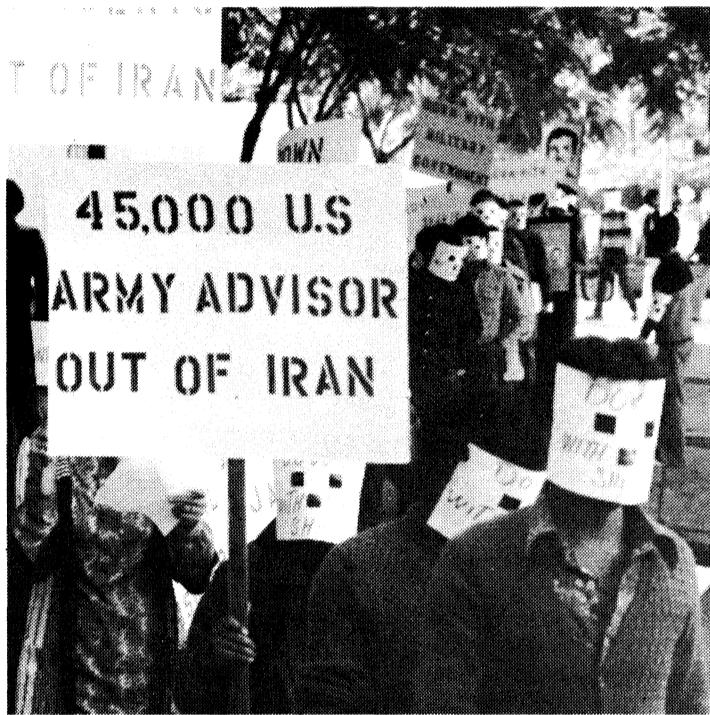
The protesters' leaflet warned that Carter's support to the shah could lead

to a "massacre of Iranian people" similar to Vietnam.

The students are supporters of Moslem leader Ayatollah Khomeyni.

On November 10 and 11, about fifty Iranian students and sympathizers took part in a hunger strike at Indiana University in Bloomington. The group's action was to show its support for the struggle against the shah.

And about 100 Iranian students demonstrated against the shah's rule at the University of Arizona in Tucson November 15.



Iranian Moslem students in Los Angeles. Students wear masks to avoid victimization by U.S. authorities and Iranian secret police.

Among the protesters was Ron Kovic, author of *Born on the Fourth of July*. Kovic is a paraplegic as a result of Vietnam War injuries.

A Cranston aide said the senator was too busy to meet with the vets. Cranston is the head of the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee.

PICKETS HIT USE OF SOUTH AFRICAN STEEL

Ninety people picketed a Baltimore subway construction site November 13 to protest the use of South African steel on the project. Leading the protest was Rep. Parren Mitchell, head of the Congressional Black Caucus.

City and state officials have refused to comment.

Protesters say they will also picket the warehouse where the steel is stored.

NEW YORK CITY: MORE BLOODLETTING?

Faced with a possible \$2.3 billion cumulative budget deficit by 1982, New York City officials are discussing "drastic" measures—as if the elimination of 60,000 municipal jobs and the deep slashes in vital social services made since 1974 weren't "drastic" enough.

According to a story in the November 16 *New York Times*, "No one inside or outside City Hall now disagrees with the conclusion that the only way the city will balance its books is by wholesale elimination of some functions that the city government now performs."

The estimated budget deficit does not take into account possible wage hikes for city workers who will negotiate a new contract in 1980. It's a good bet some "drastic" action will be taken—against them.

GROUP WANTS U.S. TO PROSECUTE HANIGANS

The National Coalition on the Hanigan Case has called on Attorney General Griffin Bell to prosecute two wealthy Arizona ranchers who brutally tortured and shot three undocumented Mexican farm workers in 1976.

Patrick and Thomas Hanigan were found innocent by an all-white jury of kidnapping, assault, and robbery.

The coalition says that the

federal government could prosecute the Hanigans under federal civil rights law.

Coalition co-chairpersons Pablo Sedillo, Jr., who is the executive secretary of the Catholic Secretariat for Hispanic Affairs, and Raul Yzaguirre, president of the National Council of La Raza, declared:

"Prosecution by the Justice Department will set important legal precedents by extending civil rights guarantees to undocumented workers, who, seeking only to earn an honest living, are lured into this country and exploited as 'cheap' labor without protection of the law."

A TIP FOR NONBELIEVERS

For those of you living in New York City, skeptical about President Carter's new \$2 billion plan to evacuate the town in case of atomic attack, reprinted below is a review of Richard Gerstell's *How to Survive an Atomic Bomb*.

"Handbook on atomic defense designed especially for the layman. The author, a consultant to the Civil Defense Office, National Security Resources Board, states that the atomic bomb is not as terrible a weapon as most people think it is. He says the average citizen has an excellent chance of surviving an atomic attack if he knows what to do. He lists these simple rules: Always shut windows and doors; always seek shelter; always drop flat on your stomach; always follow instructions; never look up; never rush right outside after a bombing; never take chances with food or water; and never start rumors.

"The book has the recurrent message: 'Keep calm and save your life.'"

The review appeared in the December 1970 *Monthly Labor Review*, a government publication.

of Greater Seattle; Roberto Maestas, director of El Centro de la Raza; Cookie Hunt, delegate to 1978 National Organization for Women convention Tues., Nov. 28, 7:30 p.m. Hub Auditorium, Univ. of Washington. Ausp: ISA.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

FIFTY YEARS OF THE 'MILITANT.' Speakers: Betsey Stone, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; others. Sun., Dec. 10, 3-6 p.m. Community Service Organizations Hall, 2130 E. 1st St. Donation: \$3.50. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

THE WEBER CASE: NEW ATTACK ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Speakers: Shirley Porter, first vice-president of New Orleans NAACP; Cynthia Hawkins, member of United Steelworkers Local 13000 and the first woman ever admitted to skilled job training program at Kaiser-Chalmette; Jane Van Deusen, USWA Local 13000 Civil Rights Committee and member of New Orleans National Organization for Women. Tues., Nov. 28, 7:30 p.m. Newcomb Women's Center, Tulane Univ. campus. Ausp: New Orleans NOW. For more information call (504) 834-5203 or 895-8102.

'MILITANT' FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION. Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for the 'Militant.' Sat., Dec. 2, refreshments 6 p.m.; dinner 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. 1st Unitarian Church, 1800 Jefferson Ave. Dinner \$3; rally \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

**MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS**
CELEBRATE THE FIFTIETH ANNI-

VERSARY OF THE 'MILITANT' NEWSPAPER.

Banquet and rally. Speaker: Larry Seigle, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Dec. 2, social hour 6 p.m.; dinner 6:30 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. UE Hall, 3055 Central Ave. N.E. Donation: \$5; rally only \$1. Ausp: Militant newspaper and SWP. For more information call (612) 825-6663 or 222-8929.

DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.

Speaker: Larry Seigle, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., Dec. 3, 1:30 p.m. & 3:30 p.m. Women's Lounge, Coffman Union, Univ. of Minnesota. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance & Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (612) 825-6663 or 222-8929.

NEW YORK CAPITAL DISTRICT, ALBANY

'MILITANT' FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

CELEBRATION. Speaker: Reba Williams, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Howard Mayhew, member of the SWP for forty years; others. Sun., Dec. 3, 3 p.m. Eighth Step Coffeehouse, 14 Willett St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

OHIO CLEVELAND

'MILITANT' FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION. Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; greetings from Ben Scheerer, American Civil Liberties Union attorney; Barbara Lombardo, president of Cleveland National Organization for Women;

José Orozco, United Auto Workers Local 451, past president of the Azteca Club. Sun., Dec. 3, reception 5 p.m.; buffet dinner 6 p.m.; rally 7 p.m. Unitarian Society, 2728 Lancashire, Cleveland Heights. Donation: \$5 dinner and rally; \$1 rally only. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (216) 991-5030.

TOLEDO

THE ATTACKS ON RAILROAD WORKERS: HOW DO WE DEFEND OUR JOBS? Speakers: Bill Sizemore, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 254, Norfolk & Western; Tim McCormick, United Transportation Union Lodge 102, Conrail, delegate to AFL-CIO council; Mark Manning, BRAC Lodge 346, Soo Line. Sat. Dec. 2, 7 p.m. 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (419) 242-9743.

PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

'MILITANT' FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY RALLY AND GRAND OPENING OF PHILADELPHIA SOCIALIST BOOKSTORE.

Speaker: Jack Barnes, Socialist Workers Party national secretary. Sat., Dec. 2. Open house, 7 p.m.; rally 8 p.m. 5811 No. Broad St. (2 blocks north of Olney). Donation: \$1 Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (215) 387-2451.

WASHINGTON SEATTLE

IRAN: THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY. Speakers: representative of Iran;

ian Students Association at the University of Washington; Babak Zahraie, editor of 'Payam Daneshjoo'; Ali Shokri, defected from the Iranian Air Force, seeking political asylum in the U.S.; Rev. William Cate, president and director of Church Council

of Greater Seattle; Roberto Maestas, director of El Centro de la Raza; Cookie Hunt, delegate to 1978 National Organization for Women convention Tues., Nov. 28, 7:30 p.m. Hub Auditorium, Univ. of Washington. Ausp: ISA.

Militant anniversary rallies

During December, supporters of the 'Militant' in many cities around the country will be celebrating the paper's fiftieth anniversary. Below are some of the cities and speakers who will be

participating in the celebrations.

For more information about these events, contact the Socialist Workers Party branch in your area listed on page 27.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2

Philadelphia	Jack Barnes
Atlanta	Shelley Kramer
Baltimore	Andy Rose
Cleveland	Olga Rodriguez
Dallas	Omari Musa
Houston	Mary-Alice Waters
Indianapolis	Linda Jenness
Milwaukee	Fred Halstead
Minneapolis	Larry Seigle
New Orleans	Frank Lovell
San Antonio	Syd Stapleton
Tacoma	Andrew Pulley
Salt Lake City	Betsey Stone

Albany Reba Williams

Seattle Andrew Pulley

Pittsburgh Les Evans

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9

Boston Harry Ring
Bay Area Betsey Stone
Toledo Andrew Pulley
Albuquerque Miguel Pendás
Portland Joel Britton
Denver Raúl González
Morgantown, W. Va. Les Evans
Washington, D.C. Dick Roberts
Miami John Hawkins

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3

New York/ New Jersey	Jack Barnes
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SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10

Los Angeles Betsey Stone

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Casinos vs. the poor

The first gambling casino in Atlantic City, New Jersey, opened last May, posting an average daily take of \$637,509. In the rush by big business to cash in, poor and elderly residents of Atlantic City have been thrown out of their homes.

Property values have risen sharply as casino and real estate speculation interests buy up residential properties and evict the tenants.

"We voted for gambling because we were promised it would mean lower rent and utility bills for the elderly,"



Poor residents of Atlantic City, living in dilapidated housing (foreground), are being pushed out to make way for lucrative gambling casinos (background).

possibility of Torsney's going back onto the police force.

BANKS ARRESTED, RELEASED

Native American leader Dennis Banks was arrested in San Francisco November 17 by U.S. Customs authorities on a warrant issued in South Dakota three years ago. Banks has been living in California.

Gov. Jerry Brown has refused to send Banks back to South Dakota on the grounds that the Indian's life would be in danger if he were imprisoned there.

Banks was released after being held briefly.

ALL ABOARD!

The Long Island Rail Road allotted longer travel time for nineteen routes in 1976 than it did in 1903, according to a recent state audit. Only five routes were supposed to be covered in less time now. The audit compared twenty-seven randomly chosen routes.

New Kent State trial to open

The second trial in a civil suit aimed at bringing the killers of four Kent State University students to justice will begin November 29 in Cleveland.

The students were victims of National Guard rifle fire during an antiwar demonstration in May 1970. Ohio Gov. James Rhodes and the head of the Ohio National Guard claimed the troops fired in self-defense. But the students were all unarmed, and the nearest was 265 feet away.

The Nixon administration refused to order a federal

grand jury investigation, and state authorities did nothing.

Parents of the four dead students filed suit. In a trial marked by numerous irregularities, a jury found that neither the governor, who ordered the guard on campus, nor the guard commander, bore any responsibility for the killings.

But a federal appeals court ordered a second trial, declaring that the errors in the first trial "strike at the heart of our system of justice."

The golden years—Apparently suffering a fit of uncontrolled generosity, the Public Service Company of New Hampshire is now giving all its customers over the age of seventy a 10 percent discount on their electric bills.

Now hear this—New Yorkers who have participated in summertime bumper-to-bumper pilgrimages to upstate resort areas will be particularly impressed by the federal Civil Defense directive that in the event of imminent nuclear attack, city residents are to head for designated upstate areas by car, bus, or rail.

Dim view—The director of the New York Police Civil Defense Office said he had "grave reservations" (a Freudian slip?) about the federal plan to evacuate 8 million people upstate. Asked what the

city police planned to do in the event of a nuclear attack, he responded, with refreshing candor, "Nothing."

Probably works too—Dunhill's, the pipe and tobacco people, have a solid gold lighter decorated with rubies, diamonds, and sapphires, \$20,000. If you want it, hurry. It's a one-of-a-kind item.

Timely offer—We confess that we never heard of Piaget watches. But we are impressed. A his-and-hers set—wafer thin, black on gold, hers circled with diamonds, \$9,030 the pair.

Thought for the week—"Some people say, 'If you have homosexual teachers, you're automatically going to have homosexual students.' I don't know about that theory. Because if it were true, today I would be a nun."—Comedian Mark Russell.

By Any Means Necessary

Omari Musa

A wave of conservatism?

Many leaders of Black organizations and trade unions are complaining about the election results, claiming they show a popular swing to the right.

NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks said he was "dismayed" and feared a "wave of conservatism that is sweeping the nation."

If Ben is right, we should look to see where it's coming from and who's directing it.

It's certainly not the Black community, since there have been more sizeable protests this year against attacks on Black rights than in quite some time.

You couldn't call the coal miners' strike a swing to the right. Or the postal worker walkouts. Or the recent rail strike.

Did the demonstration of 100,000 last July demanding extension of the time limit for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment indicate a "wave of conservatism"?

And what about the defeat of the union-busting "right to work" referendum in Missouri? And the defeat of the antigay Briggs initiative in California? These aren't signs of growing conservatism either.

Students certainly aren't getting more conservative, Ben. Look at all those campus protests demanding that universities divest their holdings in U.S. companies operating in South Africa.

But what about the Democratic and Republican parties? The Carter administration? The courts? The employers? Could they be moving to the right?

Carter and the Congress are shooting for a \$124 billion military budget to defend imperialism's interests in places like South Africa and Iran.

The Supreme Court *Bakke* ruling shot down the affirmative-action program at a California med school. And lower courts have upheld Brian Weber's claim that a job training program that benefits Blacks and women "discriminates" against him and other white men.

Carter and the coal operators tried to break the miners' strike, Ben.

State and local Republican and Democratic politicians have been slashing social services and unleashing murdering cops in our communities.

Carter and the bosses are out to hold down our wages, because they say decent pay is inflationary.

And Ben, neither the private corporations nor the government are doing anything about the staggering unemployment in the Black community.

You know, Ben, I think all the evidence shows that it's not the working-class majority that is swinging to the right, but the bosses and their government. I think we got an airtight case against them.

Look, Ben, I got an idea on what to do about it. Since the Democrats and Republicans are the bosses' parties, not ours, why don't we begin to organize our own party?

One place to start would be at the NAACP national conference in June. You could invite all Black community organizations, Black unionists, and students to a conference to discuss how we can fight back.

One of the things we could discuss, Ben, would be the need for Blacks to run candidates independent of—and against—the Democrats and Republicans. We could use such candidates to help mount a big campaign in the Black community to demonstrate in the streets against U.S. backing to the racist regimes in southern Africa.

We could throw our weight behind actions against cop terror in places like the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn.

Ben, we could appeal to the trade-union movement and women to join the Black community in massive protests against unemployment and to demand jobs for all.

If we launched such a campaign, we could begin to mobilize the power the Black community really has.

We can't rely on the Democratic and Republican parties, Ben. They belong to our oppressors. Our strength is the organized power of 30 million Black people fighting through our own independent organizations.

Others will join with us, and we with them, in defense of common interests against the bosses and their government.

Now is the time to start building an independent Black party, Ben. The majority of Black people are fed up with the Democrats and Republicans—that's why we don't bother to vote.

If we formed our own party, the idea of running independent candidates might catch on in the unions. Unionists would be encouraged to run independent labor candidates. The Democrats and Republicans don't represent the interests of any working person, Ben.

This is a strategy to turn back the attacks on Blacks and other working people by the bosses and their government.

Well Ben, what do you say?

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

Trotsky on socialism in U.S.

November 7, 1978, marked the ninety-ninth anniversary of Leon Trotsky's birth. A revolutionist for more than forty years, Trotsky was the organizer of the October 1917 insurrection that brought workers and peasants councils, led by the Bolshevik Party, to power in Russia. He organized and led the Red Army, which defeated imperialist invaders and home-grown counterrevolutionaries.

Trotsky opposed the bureaucratic layer led by Stalin that rose to power after Lenin's death. He headed the Left Opposition in the Soviet Communist Party and the Communist International. This formation fought the undemocratic methods and class-collaborationist policies that the Stalinist bureaucracy put into practice.

In 1929 the bureaucracy expelled Trotsky from the Soviet Union because he refused to give up his beliefs. He spent the rest of his life in exile. When it became clear that the Communist International and later the Soviet regime had degenerated beyond reform, Trotsky became the inspirer and central leader of the Fourth International founded in September 1938. He was assassinated by an agent of Stalin's secret police in 1940.

A group of American revolutionists, led by James P. Cannon, were expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 for supporting the Opposition. Trotsky established a close working relationship with them the following year. That relationship lasted until his death. In May 1929 he wrote a letter to the *Militant* from his first place of exile—Prinkipo, Turkey. It appeared in the June, 1929, issue.

"I follow your journal with great interest and am delighted with its fighting spirit," Trotsky wrote. He offered some good advice on how to build a revolutionary party in the United States.

"We must steer our course to the young worker who desires to understand and to fight, and is capable of enthusiasm and self-sacrifice. These are the people from whom we must attract and educate the genuine cadres of the proletariat. . . .

"The trade union bureaucrats, like the bureaucrats of pseudo-communism, live in an atmosphere of aristocratic prejudices of the upper strata of workers. . . . We must not only reject and condemn these prejudices; we must burn them out of our consciousness to the last trace. We must find the road to the most underprivileged and downtrodden strata of the proletariat, beginning with the Negroes, whom capitalist society has converted into pariahs, and who must learn to see in us their brothers."

Trotsky stressed the prospects for socialist revolution in the United States:

"The work to be achieved by the American opposition has international historic significance, for in the final analysis all the problems of our planet will be decided upon American soil."



Trotsky in Prinkipo, Turkey

"There is much in favor of the idea that from the standpoint of revolutionary succession, Europe and the East stand ahead of the United States. But a course of events is possible which may alter this sequence in favor of the proletariat of the United States."

Trotsky continued, "Even if you assume that America, which now shakes the whole world, will itself be shaken last of all, the danger remains that a revolutionary situation in the United States may catch the vanguard of the American proletariat unprepared, as was the case in Germany in 1923, in Britain in 1926, and in China in 1925-27."

The very international power of U.S. imperialism undermined its stability, Trotsky observed:

"We must not for a minute lose sight of the fact that the power of American capitalism rests more and more upon the foundation of the world economy, with its contradictions and its crises, military and revolutionary. This means that a social crisis may arrive in the United States a good deal sooner than many think, and have a feverish development from the start. Hence the conclusion: *it is necessary to prepare.*"

The banner of Marx and Lenin is in the hands of the Opposition," Trotsky concluded. "I have no doubt that the American contingent of the Bolsheviks will occupy a worthy place under that banner."

—Fred Feldman

Our party is your party

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

JOIN THE SWP. Fill out this coupon and mail it today.

I want to join the SWP.
 Send me ____ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$2.95 each. Enclosed \$_____
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Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y.
10014.

JOIN THE SWP

Young Socialist team

Penn State University. A woman comes up to our socialist literature table and says, "Is this the socialist group on campus? I want to join."

Marshall University, Huntingdon, West Virginia. Students buy thirty dollars of socialist literature in three hours.

Youngstown State University. A student comments, "I didn't believe anything like the Young Socialist Alliance existed. I want to join."

These are some of the experiences of the YSA team that is touring campuses in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio. In its first week, the team sold seventy-eight Young Socialists and eighty-eight Militants.

The team has found a lot of interest among students in the YSA convention that will be held in Pittsburgh December 28-January 1. One student from Bluefield State College bought a YS and later wrote in asking to go to the convention.

Many of the campuses we've visited are located in coal mining areas. Students solidarize with the miners' struggles, like the 110-day coal strike last winter. One West Virginia student said, "The miners showed the way to fight back."

Students are also angry about university investment in the racist South African system. At Penn State, students picketed the visit of Vice-president Mondale. One student at the University of Akron commented, "I think what we're doing in South Africa is an outrage."

Students also support women's rights. "Abortion—a woman's right to choose—I like that," said one Black woman at Youngstown State.

Students are interested in socialist ideas and in doing something about them. "It's a great time to be a socialist," one new YSA member told us. The YSA team agrees.

Robert Kendrick
Cleveland, Ohio

Iran: what's going on?

David Frankel's article, "How revolutionists see rebellion in Iran" [November 3 *Militant*], convinced me that it's wrong to call the events in Iran a "right-wing revolt." Apparently it's a broad people's movement with right-wing leadership.

But to call the leadership "right wing" doesn't do justice to the situation. "Right wing" can mean conservative, wishy-washy, compromising, sell-out—but that's not the essence of what the Moslem mullahs are.

From the point of view of women's emancipation, which is of central importance in the Iranian struggle, the mullahs are fascist—no more and no less. It's all very well to shout, "Down with the shah!" but as the shah's rule weakens, the question becomes, what will replace him? To this the mullahs say, "Islamic republic," which is reactionary, and, "Death or the veil," which is fascist.

Letters

What I want to know is, what is the left doing in Iran? It seems to be silent. Is this really the case, or is it just that journalists aren't getting the story out? Is the left in coalition with the mullahs, as the establishment press is hinting, or has it been taken by surprise, or is it working underground? In other words, what's going on? You're a newspaper, tell us!

Marvin Garson
San Diego, California

Iran: who's leading?

I read your November 3 issue, and I want to make some comments.

The red rose of the Iranian movement has grown up by the blood of thousands of innocents, killed by the regime. A review of the last decade and a half, since the shah's so-called white revolution, will show that events since 1963 have been bloody.

Ayatollah Khomeyni was leading the educated and the real believers of Islam in Iran.

All these years the Muslims were taught the realities about the regime, the 2,500 years of the selfish kingdom in Iran. In spite of the minimum six months in jail for reading the intellectual Islamic books, most college students did read and distinguish the real Islam from the metamorphosed, cheating type that was introduced by the regime, in which one prays and waits for god to solve the problem, rather than pray and prove the honesty to god by movement against any cruel power (East or West), as the real Islam says.

A brief survey of the recent world press (the *Guardian*, the *Economist*, *Newsweek*, *Time*) can easily show that the content of the Iranian movement is purely Islamic under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeyni.

I want to appreciate any kind of understanding about the victims of Iran, but please do not let readers be confused about the Islamic leadership of the movement, which might cause the creation of another Vietnam.

Asghar Tehrani
Raleigh, North Carolina

Prison conditions

I share with the prisoner who wrote from Virginia (*Militant*, September 8) the desire to see greater space devoted to the "ongoing struggles" being waged "inside the brutal prisons of this nation." In Pittsburgh the case of Stanton Story has revealed an area that for many of us, I expect, is unknown. Perhaps there is no institution that better exposes the inhumanity that characterizes capitalism.

Story is in Western Penitentiary in Pittsburgh. Visits are limited to three hours (reduced to one at the discretion of prison authorities) five times a month. A maximum of four persons can be present at any one visit. Visits take place in one large community room, which is shabbily furnished, smoke-filled, unventilated, has poor acoustics, and is under close

Learning About Socialism

surveillance. Along one wall are lined junk-food machines, tantalizing the men who are daily served tasteless, worthless food. Signs on the machines are designed to humiliate: "Inmates may not handle money." "Inmates may not operate machines." One's visitors must do that.

Employment is essential to supply oneself with necessities such as soap and shampoo. Prison jobs are degrading and it is well known from the number of unskilled prisoners who return to society that the training they receive is obsolete. For many the pay teeters around sixty cents a day. Medical needs are not treated on weekends. Recreation consists almost solely of weight lifting and basketball. University courses are available, but arbitrarily granted and withheld depending on how prison authorities view the prisoner's "behavior."

Prisoners may receive books or clothing from the outside only if they are mailed directly from a vendor. What is most striking about all that prisoners are subjected to is that they have no control over their lives. Nothing they do is a result of free choice. These are the conditions that exist in the "general population." In the "hole" they are yet crueler and more barbaric. Only those who have existed in them can tell about it.

*Martha Harris
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

Intimidating

Recently I took a random survey of 100 people in and around the University of Minnesota. My question was simple: "Would you be more likely to buy the news organ of the Socialist Workers Party if it bore a less intimidating, less threatening name, say *Socialist Weekly*?" Majority consensus was a resounding, emphatic "yes."

There's your answer. The time is ripe. There is considerable disaffection with the current U.S. political scene. If you wish to avail yourselves of it, to sell more papers, and thereby to spread the ideas of the SWP around among others than those already converted, I urge you to change the name to *Socialist Weekly*.

*Bernard Bleeker
Minneapolis, Minnesota*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Introducing people to socialist ideas

Working people are putting up more resistance these days to the attacks of the ruling rich on human rights and living standards of the majority.

Examples of this were last winter's miners' strike; the July 9 demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment; the solidarity displayed by rail workers, postal workers, and others in recent strike battles; and the growing opposition to U.S. backing of tyrannies in South Africa and Iran.

Another indication of the changing mood was the refusal of millions—because of the absence of any mass alternative defending their interests—to participate in the capitalist electoral circus this year.

These developments mean that interest in socialist ideas is going to increase. One sign of this is the success of the campaign to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. The numbers who become convinced that capitalism must be replaced by socialism will still be modest, but they are certainly important for building the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Attendance at SWP forums is rising. And SWP members are running into more and more people on the job and in their communities who want to find out more about the socialist answer to today's problems. Most SWP branches have growing mailing lists of people who have indicated an interest in socialist activities.

Throughout the country, SWP branches and YSA chapters are thinking about ways to get to know these people better and win them to the socialist movement. Growing opportunities call for close attention and careful planning.

One way of doing this is to get the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist* into the hands of working people and youth. This will give them a better understanding of the significance of the big events going on around them.

Another is to inform people about the regular public activities of the socialist movement—forums, bookstore sales, election campaigns, educational conferences, social events, and so on.

And, of course, socialists try to involve working people in the struggles against oppression that are going on today. Such participation is often the most effective way to learn about socialism.

But that's not all that needs to be done. Many people have confused ideas about what socialism is and what socialists stand for.

You certainly can't blame them for that. The capitalist class devotes a good deal of time, money, and effort through the media and the schools. And the bureaucratic rulers in

Moscow and Peking confuse things further by identifying their undemocratic regimes with socialism.

Because of this, many people think that socialism means doing away with democratic rights, as in the Soviet Union or China, or that there is "socialism" in Sweden or even in England. Some think of socialists as violence-prone. Or they think that socialism means supporting the "good" Democrats and opposing the "bad" Republicans—especially if their ideas about socialism have come from the Communist Party press. Others wonder, "Well, socialism certainly sounds like a good idea, but is it realistic?"

One way of presenting some basic concepts of socialism is to hold informally structured discussion groups around the theme, "What is Socialism?" These can be held at branch headquarters, in the homes of members or friends of the SWP and YSA, on campuses, at community centers, or in workplaces.

Branches and YSA chapters that have sponsored such discussion groups have found them an effective way of educating people about the socialist movement and bringing them closer to it.

The numbers attracted to such discussion groups are not the measure of their value. A discussion that draws even one or two people into the fight for socialism is a success.

The best format for such a gathering is to have a discussion leader open the session with a few introductory remarks. The comments are often most effective when they present the socialist view of some current issue. The resulting discussion not only helps win people to socialism, but also provides SWP and YSA members with an opportunity to learn what other working people think is important and how they respond to our ideas.

In some instances, these discussion groups have been organized around articles from the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*. Some areas have gotten good results by using *Socialism on Trial*, the transcript of the testimony given by James P. Cannon during the Minneapolis frame-up trial of Cannon and other SWP leaders in 1941.

Organizing these "What is Socialism?" discussion groups need not involve a great deal of time and energy. It can fit easily into the wide range of activities now being carried out by the socialist movement. All that is needed is a leaflet announcing the date, time, and place. This can be inserted into every *Militant*, *Young Socialist*, or *Perspectiva Mundial* sold, and handed out at conferences, rallies, or other activities. And these gatherings should be advertised in the *Militant's* "What's Going On?" column. —Paul Montauk

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 314 E. Taylor. Zip: 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965. Zip: 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, 3264 Adeline St. Zip: 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156. East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Zip: 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347. Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Zip: 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196. Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404. Zip: 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820. Los Angeles, Southeast: SWP, YSA, 2554 Saturn Ave., Huntington Park. Zip: 90255. Tel: (213) 582-1975.

OAKLAND: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San

Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 942 E. Santa Clara St. Zip: 95112. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

DELAWARE: Newark: YSA, c/o Stephen Krevinsky, 638 Lehigh Rd. M4. Zip: 19711. Tel: (302) 368-1394.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 7623 NE 2nd Ave. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-8358.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana. Zip: 61801. Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 407 S. Dearborn #1145. Zip: 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280.

Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, 2251 E. 71st St. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 643-5520. Chicago, West Side: SWP, 3942 W. Chicago. Zip: 60651. Tel: (312) 384-0606.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University. Zip: 47401. Indianapolis: SWP, 4163 College Ave. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 925-2616. Gary: SWP, P.O. Box M218. Zip: 46401.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station. Zip: 40506. Tel: (606) 269-6262.

Louisville: SWP, 1505 W. Broadway, P.O. Box 3593. Zip: 40201. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3319 S. Carrollton Ave. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668. College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland. Zip: 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Rees, 4 Adams St., Easthampton 01027. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4321, Michigan Union, U of M. Zip: 48109. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 1310 Broadway. Zip: 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675. Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ. Zip: 48859.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, P.O. Box 343, Eveleth, Minn. Zip: 55734. Tel: (218) 741-4968. Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, 23 E. Lake St. Zip: 55408. Tel: (612) 825-6663. St. Paul: SWP, 373 University Ave. Zip: 55103. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: YSA, c/o Hugh Wilcox, 521 4th St., Council Bluffs, Iowa. 51501.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, 108 Morning-side Dr. NE. Zip: 87108. Tel: (505) 255-6869.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, c/o Larry Paradis, Box 7261, SUNY-Binghamton. Zip: 13901. Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 103 Central Ave. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 463-0072. Ithaca: YSA, Willard Straight Hall, Rm. 41A, Cornell University. Zip: 14853. New York, Bronx: SWP, 2271 Morris Ave. Zip: 10453. Tel: (212) 365-6652. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, 841 Classon Ave. Zip: 11238. Tel: (212) 783-2135. New York, Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 7 Clinton St. Zip: 10002. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, 90-43 149 St. Zip: 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718. New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, 786 Amsterdam. Zip: 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

NORTH CAROLINA: Raleigh: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 5714 State Univ. Station. Zip: 27607.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, c/o Balar Center, Ohio University. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-7497. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 970 E. McMillan. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 13002 Kinsman Rd. Zip: 44120. Tel: (216) 991-5030. Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union, Rm. 308, Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St. Zip: 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985. Kent: YSA, Student Center Box 41, Kent State University. Zip: 44242. Tel: (216) 678-5974.

Toledo: SWP, 2507 Collingwood Blvd. Zip: 43610. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Bethlehem: SWP, Box 1096. Zip: 18016. Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16412. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St. Zip: 19104. Tel: (215) 387-2451. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 5504 Penn Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419. State College: YSA, c/o Jack Craypo, 132 Keller St. Zip: 16801.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, P.O. Box 400. Zip: 02881. Tel: (401) 783-8864.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave., South Seattle. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99210. Tel: (509) 535-6244. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: SWP, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Support steel haulers' strike!

By Shelley Kramer

"We have no choice but to shut down our equipment and take our fight for freedom to the nation's streets and highways."

That's how the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers announced its November 11 nationwide strike.

FASH is an organization of truck owner-operators who haul steel from mills to fabricating plants. In 1967, 1970, and 1974, FASH led strikes to defend the rights of independent truckers. The current shutdown was organized through a series of open meetings held in eleven midwestern and eastern cities over the fall.

The steel companies are publicly trying to downplay the power of the steel haulers' strike. But this is belied by company efforts to seek a strike-breaking injunction against FASH in Pittsburgh, the organization's headquarters.

According to FASH, the strike is stopping more than 75 percent of the nation's steel shipments. And corporation sources quietly predict production cutbacks if the strike continues.

Government sources estimate that there are some 30,000 steel haulers, 10,000 of whom are Teamster members. The truckers haul 50 percent of the country's finished steel. Some own their own rigs; others are employed by steel companies. The overwhelming majority of FASH members are owner-operators.

Owner-operators are barred by fed-



Striking steel haulers picket in Fairless, Pennsylvania

eral regulations from contracting directly with the shippers. They are forced to lease their rigs to federally authorized carriers who collectively set shipping rates. The drivers are then paid a percentage of those rates.

Their lives and working conditions—despite the glamorous image peddled by industry magazines—are anything

but "independent" and "carefree."

The carriers—who rarely invest in any equipment—skim off the top 25 to 40 percent of the shipping rate for themselves. But the owner-operators are stuck with all the business risks and expenses—fuel, parts, repairs, tires, overall upkeep, licenses, taxes,

Continued on page 16

Strike issues

The following are FASH's ten demands issued in a nationally distributed strike notice.

"1. That truckers be exempted from the anti-trust laws, so they can bargain with the carriers.

"2. That we have the right to elect representatives of our choice to bargain for our needs as steel haulers.

"3. That the teamo rip-off contract be voided, and a fair percentage negotiated.

"4. That the 80,000 lbs. weight and standard dimensions be adopted by all states.

"5. That a federal license plate be adopted, and all rip-off state, fuel and mileage taxes be eliminated.

"6. That uniform lease proposals be adopted and enforced with severe penalties for any violations.

"7. That all rate cuts be stopped and that rates be increased to cover our cost of operation.

"8. That the detention rules be strictly enforced and all monies due be paid along with each load.

"9. That trip leasing regulations be revised in order to help eliminate dead heading and layover.

"10. That a \$25.00 tarping charge be instituted, and unnecessary tarping stopped."

How truckers alliance was forged in 1930s

By Shelley Kramer

The Teamster bureaucracy is ordering union drivers to scab on the current steel haulers' strike—just as it did in 1967, 1970, and 1973-74. This betrayal of elementary labor solidarity fits right into the bureaucrats' pattern of selling out the interests of independent owner-operators—from striking deals with the government and carriers at the truckers' expense, to denying unionized independents any voice in Teamster policy.

As a result of these class-collaborationist policies, there has been a tremendous growth in nonunionized independent trucking. By failing to draw owner-operators into the union on a full and equal basis, Fitzsimmons and company have weakened the union as a whole.

But this has not always been Teamster policy. Under a class-struggle leadership in the 1930s, the Minneapolis Teamsters forged a fighting alliance between independent owner-operators and Teamster drivers. At that time, Local 574—later 544—was led by Farrell Dobbs and other members of the Socialist Workers Party. How this alliance was built Dobbs explains in two of his four volumes on Teamster history, *Teamster Power* and *Teamster Politics*. (They can be ordered at \$4.45 each from socialist bookstores listed on page 27.)

During the Depression, both the government and trucking industry encouraged the growth of independent trucking as a way to foist more of the high risk of business in those years onto the shoulders of the individual driver.

"Broker setups appeared in the form of companies that relied entirely on individual truck owners to move goods," Dobbs explained. "In such cases virtually the entire overhead cost of trucking operations was shoved on to the owner-operators, thereby impairing their capacity to earn a living."

"Immediate profit-taking along these lines was not the only object the capitalists had in mind," Dobbs adds. By fostering the illusion that the

owner-operators—if they worked long and hard enough—could eventually buy their own fleets, the bosses were able to sow divisions among their employees. "Unionization of the industry was thereby impeded; the laws of the open-shop jungle could better prevail; and the trucking bosses were able to wax fatter in all respects."

When the Trotskyists assumed the leadership of the Minneapolis Teamsters, they set out to put an end to these crippling divisions. "To consolidate the union power, [the owner-operators] had to be brought into an alliance with the fleet drivers," Dobbs explains. "Before that could be done, however, a course had to be developed that would serve the owner-operators' interests."

What was this course of action?

First, organizing as many owner-operators as possible into the union. "They were then extended the democratic right to shape the demands that were made upon their employers, the leasing companies. On that basis the union as a whole followed through by backing them in struggle to improve their take-home pay."

"The validity of that policy was confirmed by its results," Dobbs says. "In the major struggles of that period against the trucking employers generally, the union's owner-operator members served loyally."

Then, when the Minneapolis Teamsters launched an eleven-state over-the-road organizing drive in 1938, they fought to strengthen and extend their alliance with the owner-operators. The needs of these truckers were placed high on the list of the union's bargaining demands.

"The aim was to require leasing companies to pay individual owner-operators the cost of operating their equipment, plus its replacement value, plus the union scale as drivers," Dobbs explains. This would cut away a big slice of the profits the bosses made at the expense of the owner-operators.

And it would help the drivers untangle their confusing web of expenses and secure the full cost of operating their equipment.

Apart from the cost of equipment operation, the union also demanded that owner-operators receive the same wages and work under the same conditions as other drivers.

"In striving toward that goal we were aided by gains registered in securing higher wages and better conditions for fleet drivers," Dobbs explains. "Those accomplishments were noted by the owner-operators, many of whom began to realize that they, too, would be better off as fleet drivers."

The application of this class-struggle policy was tragically cut short when the Minneapolis leaders were driven out of the union in a World War II witch-hunt. But their experience remains the best available guide to uniting all truckers against their common enemies.

And the starting point to rebuild that alliance today is alongside the steel haulers in their battle against the government and the employers for a decent living.



FARRELL DOBBS

Militant/Howard Petrick